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# THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

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Monks, even as a blue lotus, a water-rose, or a white lotus is born in the water, grows up in the water, and stands lifted above it, by the water undefiled: even so, monks, does the Tathāgata grow up in the world, and abide in the mastery of the world, by the world undefiled.

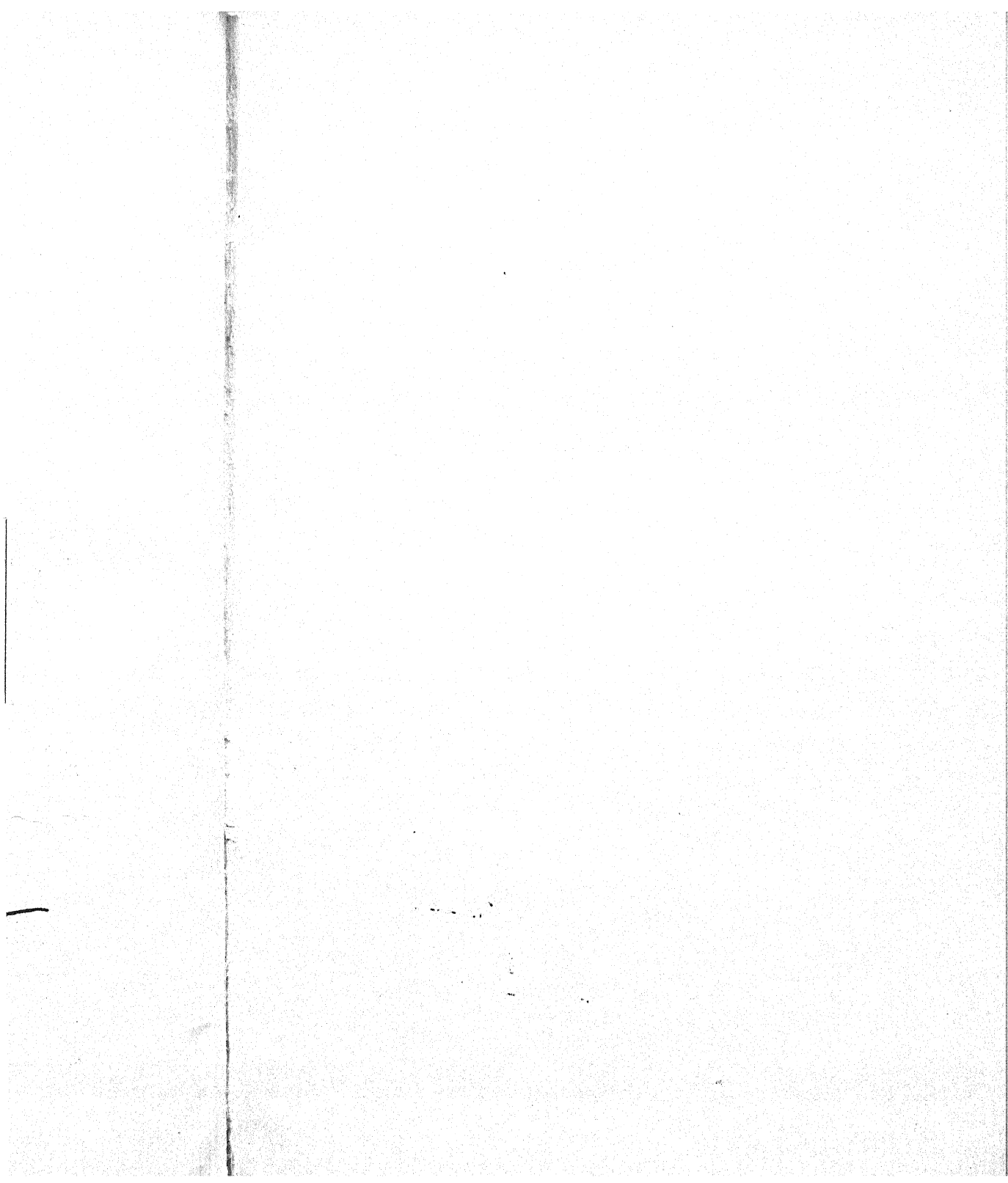
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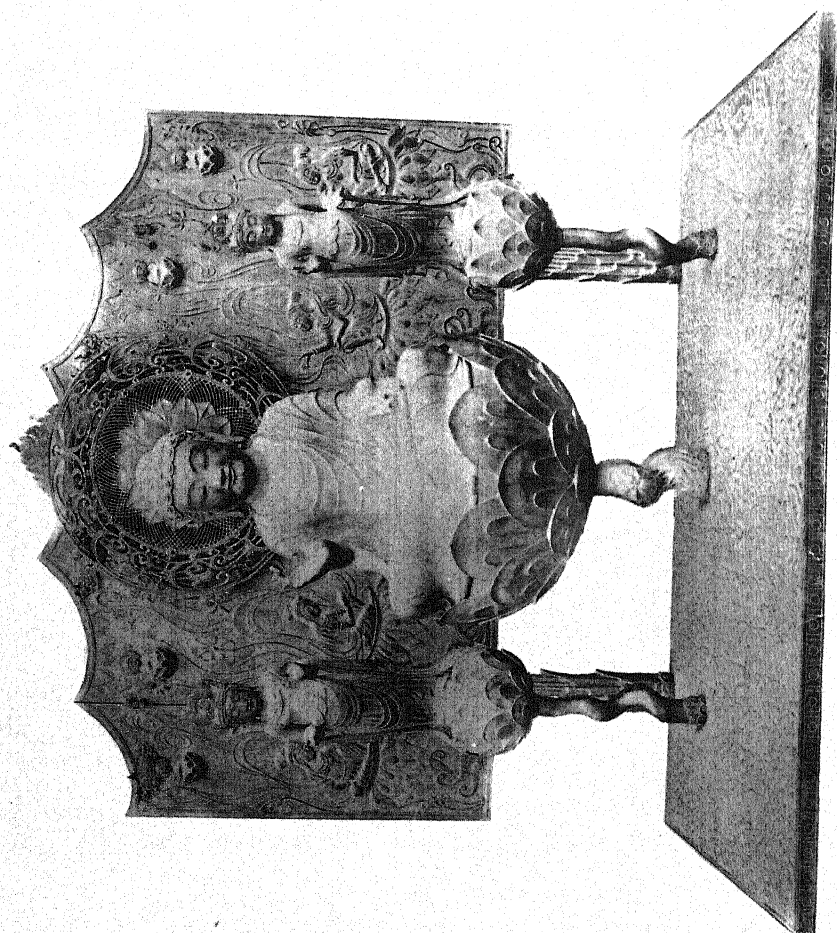
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# THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

MAY—JUNE, JULY—AUGUST, 1922

## THE TRIPLE BODY OF THE BUDDHA

### I

IN the earlier forms of the Indian religion, the faith-element was not strongly affirmed and it was only when the Buddhists began to organise themselves that faith became prominently noticeable in the religious consciousness of the Indians. The Vedic religion was a cult of nature-worship and there was even a taint of utilitarianism in its followers. As to the conception of faith as a thing sufficient in itself, they had none of it. In the age of the Brahmanas, Indian minds grew torpid, ritualism was everything, and there was nothing in it that would betray great inner spiritual yearnings. The Upanishads were too intellectual for any religious feeling to develop. It was probably in a group of religious mendicants then known as "Paribbaja" that something like a spiritual groping for the light began really to stir. It was they that entertained something of faith in their leader. This feeling grew stronger when the Buddha became the central figure of his Brotherhood, for what kept his followers together in this organisation was their ardent faith in the personality and teaching of their leader.

There is no doubt that the rapid growth of Buddhism in India was chiefly due to the greatness of the Buddha's own personality which demanded faith and love in his disciples.

They were unconsciously drawn towards their leader and took in all his words with absolute faith, and through this faith they were led to discipline themselves in the moral precepts, meditation, and the cultivation of wisdom. So we read in the "Anguttara Nikāya" (III., p. 153):

"The Bhikkhus should first have faith and believe that the World-Honoured One is the Tathāgata, Arhat, the Fully-Enlightened One, the Perfect in Knowledge and Conduct, the Happy One, the Knower of the World, the Peerless, the Tamer of Mankind, the Master of Gods and Men, and the Buddha."

Again (Ang. I., p. 207): "Those who think of the Tathāgata, are pleased with him, rejoice in him, and have their minds well cleansed of defilements, are those who abide in Brahma's fast-day (*brahmoposatha*), abide with him, are pleased with him."<sup>(1)</sup>

According to Vangīsa, one of the Buddha's disciples, "intoxicated in poem-making, he had wandered from town to town until he saw the perfect Buddha and believed in him."<sup>(2)</sup>

Another disciple, Pingiya, confessed: "O Brahman, even for a moment I am not separated from Gotama, who is one with great knowledge and great wisdom; he giveth benefits in this present life—and no time is lost, he quencheth thirst of desire, preacheth the doctrine that will distance evils; nowhere I am away from the Peerless One; I look up to him with mind and eye, even at night I do not remain

(1) Tassa Tathāgataṃ anussarato cittaṃ pasīdati pāmojjaṃ uppajjati, ye cittaṃ upakkilesā te pahiyanti, ayam vuocati ariyasāvako brahmūposathaṃ upavasati Brahmaṇā saddhiṃ samvasati Brahmañcassa ārabha cittaṃ pasīdati pāmojjaṃ uppajjati, ye cittaṃ upakkilesā te pahiyanti.

(2) Kāveyyamattā vicarimha pubbe gāma gāmaṃ purā purāṃ, Athaddasāmi sambuddhaṃ sabbadhammānapāraguṃ.  
So me dhammaṃ adesesi muni dukkassa pāragū;  
Dhammaṃ sutvā pasidemha, saddhā no udapajjatha.

*Thera-gāthā*, 1253-4.

idle but revere him, . . . . . I embrace his doctrine with faith, contentment, mind, and memory."<sup>(1)</sup>

In the *Vimansaka Sutta* ("Majjhima Nikāya," No. 47, I. p. 320), mention is made of a "Faith securely founded and immovable by others,"<sup>(2)</sup> while, in the *Thera-Gāthā*, Sirimitta sings of "him whose faith in the Tathāgata is firmly planted and unwavering,"<sup>(3)</sup> and Merajina expresses complete satisfaction with the Buddha as follows:

"When I had heard the Master preach the Law,  
No doubts my mind could thenceforth entertain  
In him, all-knowing and invincible.  
Nor in a mighty hero like to him,  
Lord of the caravan, driver of men,  
Peerless and grand, nor in the Path, the Rule,  
Can ever want of faith disturb my soul."<sup>(4)</sup>

This faith in the Buddha was much stronger among his lay-disciples, and such people as Isidatta who was courtier to King Pasenadi, Queen Mallikā, and the King himself confessed a faith almost as absolute as can be seen only among the followers of the Pure Land sects. This attitude on the part of the Buddha's disciples naturally reflected itself in their conception of the personality of the Master, readily preparing the way for his deification by the later Buddhists. Not only was he thus made a superhuman figure, but an idea full of promising growth came to be conceived of by them, that is to say, they came to think that Buddhahood was not to be sought for in the person of the Buddha as a physical existence but in his relation to the Dharma or Law or Truth which was revealed by him.

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(1) Accidentally neglecting at the time to note the page exactly where the passage is to be found, I fail to locate it again while this is going through the press.

(2) *Ākaraṇaṭṭhi saddhā dāsaṇamūlikā dāḥā asaṇḥāriyā samaṇena vā brahmaṇena vā devaṇa vā mārena vā Brahmaṇā vā Kenasi vā lokasmiṇ.*

(3) *Yassa saddhā Tathāgate acaḥa supatiṭṭhita. Thera-gāthā, 507.*

(4) The translation is by Mrs Rhys Davids.





It is to be noticed in these passages quoted above that the Buddha came to be known under such titles as "Dhammakāya," "Dhammabhūta<sup>(1)</sup>," "Brahmakāya," and Brahmbhūta."

When the Bhikkhu Vakkali enamoured by the physical aspects of the Buddha expressed a burning desire to see him, the Buddha said to him: "Enough, O Vakkali, what is the use to you of seeing this foul body? He who sees the Dhamma sees me, and he who sees me sees the Dhamma because, O Vakkali, by seeing the Dhamma one sees me and by seeing me one sees the Dhamma."<sup>(2)</sup> This famous saying later changed into "seeing the Dharmakāya of the Buddha with an eye of [transcendental] knowledge."<sup>(3)</sup> Thus, the *Milindapañha* has: "Whosoever sees the Dhamma, he sees the Blessed One, for the Dhamma was preached by the Blessed One," and "In the body of the Dhamma the Blessed One can be pointed out, for the Dhamma was preached by him."<sup>(4)</sup>

According to the *Vajracchedikā Sūtra* (S. B. E., Vol. XLIX, p. 140):

"They who saw me by form,  
And they who heard me by sound;  
They engaged in false endeavours,  
Will not see me.  
A Buddha is to be seen from the Law;  
For the Buddhas have the Law-Body;

(1) *Kāya* means "body," *Bhūta* "being."

(2) Alam Vakkali kim te iminā pūtikayena dīṭṭhena. Yo kho Vakkali dhammaṃ passati so maṃ passati. Yo maṃ passati so dhammaṃ passati. Dhammaṃ hi Vakkali passanto maṃ passati maṃ passanto dhammaṃ passati: (Samyutta Nikāya, III p. 120.)

(3) Paññacakkhunā Bhagavato Dhammakāyaṃ dis vā.  
(Sutta-Nipāta-Atthakatha, p. 41.)

(4) Yo dhammaṃ passati so bhagavantam passati. dhammo hi mahārāja Bhagavatā desito.  
(*Milindapañha*, p. 71.)

Dhammakāyena pana kho mahārāja sakkā Bhagavā nidassetum, dhammo hi Mahārāja Bhagavatā desito.  
(*Milindapañha*, p. 73.)

And the nature of the Law cannot be understood,  
Nor can it be made to be understood."<sup>(1)</sup>

In the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (大般涅槃經. 盈五, 二一右)  
“When sentient beings rejoicing in the Dharma discipline  
themselves according to the teaching, such will indeed be  
able to see the Dharmakāya (Law-Body) of the Tathāgata.”<sup>(2)</sup>

The *Suvarṇaprabhā Sūtra* (金光明經. 分別三身品. 黃九, 七紙), to which reference was already made, concludes that  
this is truly the way to see the Buddha because one is thus  
enabled to see in truth the suchness of the Law.<sup>(3)</sup> Nāgārjuna  
in this *Madhyamika* (中論. 暑一, 五十三) joins in this, saying:  
“Therefore, it is said in the Sūtra that he who sees the law  
of causation can also see the Buddha and the Fourfold Noble  
Truth.”<sup>(4)</sup>

The legendary life of the Buddha echoes this idea in the  
following narrative: When the Blessed One was about to  
descend on earth from his heavenly abode in Tushita, the  
Bhikkhuni Uppalavannā (蓮華色比丘尼) was the first who  
came to meet him at Sankassa (僧伽舍) while Subhūti (須菩  
提), in retirement on the Mount of Holy Vulture (Gijjhakūṭa),  
was completely absorbed in the meditation of Śūnyatā (空),  
contemplating on the egolessness of all things. The Blessed  
One is recorded then to have declared that the one who first  
saw me was Subhūti and not Uppalavannā.<sup>(5)</sup> This idea of  
seeing the Buddha through the Dharma marks the beginning

(1) ये मां रूपेण चाद्राक्षुर्ये मां घोषेण चान्वगुः ।

मिथ्याप्रहाणप्रसृता न मां द्रक्ष्यन्ति ते जनाः ॥

धर्मेतो बुद्धो द्रष्टव्यो धर्मकाया हि नायकाः ।

धर्मता च न विज्ञेया न सा शक्या विजानितुम् ॥

(2) 樂法衆生隨教修行。如是等衆生乃能見如來法身。

(3) 是則名身眞實見佛。何以故。如實得見法眞如故。

(4) 是故經中說。若見因緣法。即爲能見佛。見苦集滅道。

(5) 增一阿含 (“Anguttara Āgama”) 二十八. 昆二, 四十四紙; and 西域  
記 (Hsüan Tsang's Travels), 第四。

of the term Dharmakāya, or Law-Body.

Further, observe the following quotations from the "Anguttara Āgama" (增一阿含):

"The Body of the Tathāgata is the Body of the True Dharma, and what other Dharma should one seek?"<sup>(1)</sup>

"After the passing of the Buddhas of old, their doctrine did not stay long on earth, . . . . . After my passing, the Dharma will live long."<sup>(2)</sup>

"The life of our Buddha Śākyamūni will be extremely long, for the reason of the Dharmakāya that will abide here though his physical body passes away."<sup>(3)</sup>

"The life here of the Master Śākyamūni was very short. Though his physical body thus passed away, his Dharmakāya is here, let not the root of the Dharma be cut short. . . . The Dharmakāya of the Tathāgata is never destroyed but will stay long in the world and never be cut short."<sup>(4)</sup>

All these quotations point to the same central conception of the Buddha as embodying himself in the Body of the Dharma.

The passage in the Chinese "Anguttara Āgama" (十五. 辰一, 六三左), saying, "The Body of the Tathāgata has the Dharma for its food" (如來身者以法身食), seems to have been the source of the following statements in the Mahāyāna Sūtra, *Mahāparinirvāṇa*, (Chap. II, 盈五, 一一右): "The Body of the Tathāgata is the Body of the Law and is not a body requiring food"<sup>(5)</sup>; "The Tathāgata is an Eternal Being, an Unchangeable Being, this Body of the Tathāgata is the Body

(1) 辰二·五三左。如來身者眞法之身。欲更求何法。

(2) 增一阿含四四, 辰三·三三左。

過去久遠諸佛滅後。教法不久住世。我滅度後法當久存。

(3) 增一阿含四四, 辰三·三三左。

我釋迦文佛壽命極長。所以然者肉身雖取滅度法身存此。

(4) 增一阿含序品辰一·三右。釋迦出世壽極短, 肉身雖逝法身在當今法本不斷絕。 . . . . . 如來法身不敗壞永存於世不斷絕。

(5) 如來身者即是法身非爲食身。

of transformation, and not a body supported by gross food," (Chapter III)<sup>(1)</sup>; "The Body of the Tathāgata is a Body of Eternity, an adamant body, and not a body of gross food, that is to say, it is the Body of the Law," (Chapter III)<sup>(2)</sup>.

In the Chinese "Samyutta Āgama," XXIII, we have this: "The Body of the Tathāgata is the Body of the Law, whose essence is immaculate.....The light of the Dharma abides forever in the world, dispelling this darkness of ignorance."<sup>(3)</sup> This is almost literally repeated in the *Divya-avadāna*, XXVII (pp. 396-397):

"The selfhood is the Dharma, the word, (?) which is excellent: the body is immaculate, made of the Dharma.... burning the light of the Dharma and dispelling the darkness of passions."<sup>(4)</sup>

This corresponds to the passage in the *Sutra of Asoka* (阿育王經 藏十·三六右): "The Body of the Law of the Buddha, the World-Honoured One, is immaculate and knows no peers.....Lighting the lamp of the Buddha-Law, it dispels the darkness of all tormenting passions."<sup>(5)</sup>

To sum up, the Doctrine is what constitutes the Body of the Buddha, and he who sees the Doctrine and the Truth as revealed in it is he who sees the Buddha. Buddhahood consists in his spirituality and not in his physical being, however majestic it may be. To interview him, therefore, means to understand the Truth through the teaching of the Buddha. When this idea was further developed by the later Buddhists

(1) 盈五,一六左. 如來是常住法. 不變易法. 如來此身是變化身非雜食身.

(2) 盈五,一七左. 如來身者. 是常住身. 金剛身. 非雜食身. 即是法身.

(3) 辰三,三七右.

如來之體身. 法身性清淨.....法燈常存世. 滅此愚痴冥.

(4) यत्तच्छरीरे वदतां वरस्य धर्मात्मनो धर्ममयं विशुद्धं..... धर्मप्रदीपो

ज्वलति प्रजासु क्लेश अन्यकारान्तकरो यदद्य.....

(5) 佛世尊法身 清淨無與等.....

其然佛法燈 除諸煩惱闇.....

as one of their metaphysical problems the Buddha-Body came to be identified with the Law or Truth or Tathatā (suchness).

### III

Along with the development of Buddhology, there was another conception in the system of Buddhist philosophy which specially engaged the attention of the scholars. By this I mean the conception of Dharma, culminating in the theory of Ekayāna (or One Vehicle) and of the Dharmakāya. If all the Buddhas and Bhikkhus and in fact any Buddhist followers were enabled to attain illumination by means of the one vehicle (*ekayāna*) of the Dharma, it was quite natural for Buddhists to assume the transcendental existence of one Truth, which was designated by them as Dharmatā or Tathatā meaning the essence or suchness of things. This it was that would exist for ever regardless of the appearance or disappearance of the Tathāgata, and the Dharmakāya which had been understood as meaning one who experienced or was in possession of the Dharma or Truth, came to mean one in whom the Truth itself was embodied or one whose body was the Dharma itself. The idea of the Buddha as the Dharmakāya thus came to be entertained by his disciples as time went on after his entrance into Parinirvana.

Three thought-factors are thus seen to constitute the frame-work of the conception of Dharmakāya: 1. Faith in the Buddha; 2. The idea that he who seeks the Buddha in the flesh sees him not, but he sees him who seeks him in the Dharma; and 3. The idea that the transcendental and absolute existence of the Dharma suffers no changes whatever even when its revealer himself has passed away. These ideas did not assert themselves strongly enough to formulate the doctrine of Dharmakāya while the Buddha was still on earth; for he ever insisted on the moral and disciplinary perfection in the life of his Brotherhood and refused to discuss

all the problems of metaphysics that might lead the mind to an endless maze.

But as soon as the Buddha, the eye of the world, passed away at Kusināra, the excessive grief that seized upon his disciples gave birth to intense speculation regarding the after-death existence of the Tathāgata. Is his passing final? Does the Nirvāna mean an absolute extinction? Could not the Buddha prolong his earthly life at will? In the Pali *Book of Great Dcease* (*Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*), which is one of the oldest scriptures of Buddhism, it is stated that the Buddha, if he so wished, could live another kalpa or the rest of his kalpa, while in the Chinese Āgamas (that is, in the *Sutra on Itineration*, 遊行經), we are told that the Buddha in his coffin showed his golden-coloured feet to Mahākassapa who came too late to be present at his death. (This legend is not recorded in the *Parinibbāna-sutta*.) These statements show how ready the Buddhists were to admit in the Master some supernatural qualities and something that was not to expire with the passing of one's physical existence.

As years rolled on, the disciples grew more and more convinced of the eternality and supernatural personality of the Buddha. While he was walking among them on earth, the love and reverence they felt for him was readily satisfied, but with his passing their emotional life would not be pacified with empty intellectualism. At first the latter must have strived to affirm itself against the claims of the emotion, as Buddhism is essentially a religion of the intellect and its followers endeavoured to live according to the Buddha's last instruction, "Take refuge in yourself making yourself the lamp; take refuge in the Dharma making it your lamp."<sup>(1)</sup> But inasmuch as they were all human, they could not but think of their Master so serene, so noble, so compassionate,

(1). Attadīpa attasaraṇā Dhammadīpa dhammasaraṇā. *Parinibbāna Sutta*, II. 26. (自歸依自燈明法歸依法燈明).

and so far above ordinary mortals in every way, as a being not quite of the same stuff as themselves. The logical consequence of this feeling was a conception of a supernatural and superhuman Buddha. Especially among the lay-disciples there was nothing to prevent them from worshipping him as the incarnation of a spiritual being, and every object that was connected with him as partaking something of his superhuman quality. Thus not only the Buddha himself but his relics, his words, his personal articles such as the bowl, robe, etc., and even the sights reminiscent of his life were objects of deep reverence and even of worship. The hope for a future Buddha's appearance on earth may also be regarded as a natural corollary to the supernaturalism of Buddhahood.

#### IV

There is no doubt that all the legendary stories of Buddha's life now in our possession belong to a much later age, but I am not yet qualified to pronounce judgment upon the respective antiquity of these stories, except the general remark that a story comparatively simple and rich in human elements must have been compiled the earliest. The poetic process of deification may be considered to have been a double one, one regarding the Buddha's former lives and the other regarding his life while he was among ourselves. The former has been transmitted to us in the *Jātaka Tales*, 547 in number, which are told in a mixed style, prose and verse, the latter being an earlier form of the Tales. In my view, the "*Cariya-pitaka*" (所行藏) is an older form of the *Jātakas*, and the *Jātaka-māla* (本生鬘經) is a later elaboration of the *Jātakas* themselves.

The origin of the *Jātakas* is in the Buddha's narrations of his own past lives and of those of his disciples. They were meant to illustrate the doctrine of karma. But the conviction which ever grew stronger among the followers of the

Buddha concerning the supernaturalness of his personality, gradually worked out the rich treasury of the Jātakas as we have them now. In them it is told that the Buddha went through many a rebirth in order to perfect his personality by the practise of the ten Pāramitās or perfect virtues: charity (*dāna*), morals (*śīla*), renunciation (*nikkama*), wisdom (*ñāna*), energy (*vīrya*), patience (*khanti*), sincerity (*sacca*), resolution (*adhiṭṭhāna*), compassion (*metta*), and disinterestedness (*upekha*). Thus before he came on earth for the final appearance, he is said to have been in Tushita heaven. *Pāramitā* means perfection or consummation, that is, to realise all that is contained in a virtue to its fullest extent. For instance, in practising the virtue of charity the Jātakas make the Buddha sacrifice not only his possessions, but parts of his body and even his very life for the sake of his fellow-beings.

The thought underlying the Jātaka Tales developed on the one hand into the conception of Bodhisattvaship, and on the other instigated the growth of mythical elements in the life of Buddha, such as his decision while in Tushita heaven to come down on earth or his entrance into the womb of Queen Māyā in the form of a white elephant.

The supernaturalisation of the life of a religious leader is a common phenomenon and Buddhism was no exception. The thirty-two special features, however, of perfect manhood, which are generally ascribed to Buddha are borrowed from phrenology taught by the Lokāyata and other non-Buddhist schools and not at all original to Buddhism. Later, a Sambhogakāya Buddha (受用身) came to be in possession of those marks as well as the eighty minor ones.

One way of mythically transcribing the earthly life of Śakyamuni was to treat it dramatically, and another way was to regard poetic dictions as literary facts. An instance of the first process is the description of the Buddha's four visions of old age, sickness, death, and religious serenity. This was



evidently a dramatic setting of the fact that the Buddha abandoned his pride in a youthful life, health, and well-being as recorded in a Pali sutta called *Ariyapariyesana* (which corresponds to the Chinese 柔輓經 晨六·39). As to examples of poetic license given to the life of Buddha, there are plenty: The spiritual struggles he had to go through before his attainment of the Bodhi (perfect wisdom) are depicted in the visit of Māra who tries to tempt him away from the path of righteousness; his opening the eye of knowledge which would dispel the darkness of ignorance prevailing in the world is thus beautifully figured in the *Divyāvadana* (XXVII, p. 365):

निम्ना चोन्नमते नतावनमते बुद्धानुभावान्मही ।

म्याशुः शर्करकण्टकव्यपगता निर्दोषतां याति च ॥

अन्या मूकजडेन्द्रियाश्च पुरुषा व्यक्तेन्द्रियास्तान्क्षयम् ।

संवाद्यन्यनिघटिताश्च नगरे नन्दन्ति तूर्यस्तनाः ॥

The beautiful colour of the Buddha's skin is compared to gold or violet-gold mined at Jambunādi; his carriage so majestic and awe-inspiring is likened to the king of the elephants, as is seen from the *Divyāvadana*, XXVII, p. 364:

कनकाचलसंनिभाग्रदेहो द्विरेन्द्र प्रतिमः सलीलगामी ।

परिपूर्णशशाङ्कसौम्यवज्रो भगवान्भिखुगणैर्वृतो जगाम ॥

With the supernaturalisation of the Buddha, it was natural that miracles so strongly forbidden by him were to creep more

Compare the following extract from the Chinese translation of the *Life of King Asoka* in the "Samyutta Āgama," No. 23 (阿育王傳 辰三·三一左):

地下即成平	高地反爲下	由佛威神故
荆棘諸瓦礫	皆悉不復見	聾盲及瘡痍
即得見聞語	城郭諸樂器	不擊妙音出

The Chinese *Sutra of King Asoka* (藏十·二九右) has:

佛身如金山	行步如象王	面貌甚端嚴
猶若於滿月	興比丘圍繞	俱行入於城

and more into his own life, displacing the human elements in which it must have been abundant.

# V

While this mythical transformation was going on on the one hand, the Elders were on the other hand quite persistent in preserving the humanness of Buddhahood. True, they, like others, conceded to him the thirty-two special and eighty minor marks of a great man, the ten powers (*bala*), eighteen unique qualities (*āvenika-dharma*), and four convictions (*vaishradhya*); but they held to the following views.

1. That the Buddha's last existence on earth was a product of karma, and it was subject to natural laws.

2. That the Buddha did not preach all doctrines with one voice, even in him there was a not-all-sufficient doctrine.

3. That the Buddha was not omniscient every moment of his life, his wisdom was awakened through meditation and reflection.

4. That as far as emancipation itself is concerned no qualitative distinction is to be made between that of the Buddha and that of his disciples (belonging to the two Yānas), the only difference between the two lying in the Realisation or the Way.

Against these human views of Buddhahood, the Mahāsāṅghikas contended that (1) the Buddha-body was not subject to natural laws, (2) the Buddha-body was not bound by space, (3) the Buddha preaches all doctrines with one voice, (4) whatever doctrine he teaches is all-sufficient, (5) the life of the Buddha is eternal, (6) his power is infinite, (7) he does not dream, (8) he is omniscient at any moment. The Buddha was thus completely deified.

In Vasumitra's *Treatise on the Wheel of Buddhism as Interpreted by Various Schools* (異部宗輪論. 藏四, 七十六左), we read under the "Mahāsāṅghikas and Other Schools":

"Buddhas, World-Honoured Ones, they are not of the world; all the Tathāgatas have nothing to do with things earthly. Every word of the Tathāgatas makes the wheel of the Law revolve; the Buddha teaches all doctrines with one voice, and there is nothing in the World-Honoured One's teaching that ought not to be so. The corporeal body of the Tathāgata really knows no limits, nor has his power any limits, nor is his life ever limited. The Buddha makes converts of all sentient beings, and in them is awakened a faith pure and unwearied. He does not dream while asleep. In answering a question, the Tathāgata never deliberates. As the Buddha always abides in meditation, he never preaches with words, yet sentient beings imagining him preach with words are delighted exceedingly. The Buddha comprehends all things in one single thought; by the *prajñā* (perfect intelligence) which is in conformity with one single thought, he comprehends all things; the consummate knowledge, uncreated knowledge in possession by the Buddha, the World-Honoured One, is ever operative even to his Parinirvana.

"All Bodhisattvas, when entering into the maternal womb, do not go through the stages of *kalalam*, *arbudam*, *pesi*, *ghanah*, [and *praśākhā*] in order to form their own body. They assume the form of a white elephant as they enter into the maternal womb. When they are born, they come out of the right side of the mother's body. No Bodhisattvas will ever entertain the thought of greed, anger, and harm. In order to benefit sentient beings, the Bodhisattvas desire to be born in the worlds of evil beings, and as they desire they walk freely among them"<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) 諸佛世尊皆是出世。一切如來無有漏法諸如來語皆轉法輪。佛以一音說一切法。世尊所說無不如義。如來色身實無邊際。如來威力亦無邊際。諸佛壽量亦無邊際。佛化有情令清淨無厭足心一剎那心了一切法。一剎那心相應般若知一切法。諸佛世尊盡智無生智恒隨轉。佛無睡夢。如來答問不待思惟一切菩薩入母胎中皆不執羯刺藍額部疊閉戶鍵兩為自體。一切菩薩入母胎時作白象形一切菩薩入母胎時皆從右脇。一切菩薩不起欲想恚想害想菩薩身欲饑益有情。願生惡趣隨意能往。

Some commentators of Vasumitra take these qualifications of the Buddha as belonging to a Body of Enjoyment (*Sambhogakāya*), but in the earlier days of the Mahāsāṅghikas the theory of Sambhogakāya had not yet been formulated. What they so far achieved was the transcendental interpretation of the Buddha-body as a preliminary to the later development of the Trikāya doctrine. Through this we can see how early after the Nirvana, that is, in the second century of the Christian era, the conception of the Buddha-body went through certain stages of metamorphosis. We read in the "Anguttara Āgama" (XXI) where the Buddha is still conceived in a transitory form between the corporeal Buddha and the Dharmakāya:

"The Tathāgata-Body is pure, free from defilements, and is the recipient of all heavenly breath: could such be regarded as human-made? The Tathāgata-body is called the Great Body, it is not a created body, no heavenly beings can surpass him. The Tathāgata-body is above valuation and measurement. His voice is altogether beyond qualifications"<sup>(1)</sup>.... Here we can trace some of the Mahāsāṅghika views of the Buddha-body incorporated in the scripture itself.

## VI

*The Questions of King Milinda* which was compiled in the first century before Christ, reflects the Elders' view of the time concerning the Buddha-body, and naturally there is no further development here than the Mahāsāṅghika Buddhology as already referred to. The statement however that the tribulations of the Buddha were merely accidental and not due to his previous karma, seems to be a modification of the Sthāvira theory of karma, whereas the assertion that the

(1) 增一阿含·二十一。(長二·二·三)

如來身者清淨無礙。受諸天氣。爲人所造耶。如來身者爲是大身。如來身不可造作。非諸天所及。如來身者不可摸則。不可言長短。音聲亦不可法。

Buddha's all-knowledge was the outcome of his reflection is thoroughly orthodox. Āśvaghoṣa who seems to have flourished in the first century after Christ did not add much to the stock of knowledge concerning the Buddha-body as is evidenced in his *Mahālaṅkāra Śāstra* (大莊嚴論) and *Buddhacarita* (佛所行讚). No reference will be made here to *The Awakening of Faith* (起信論) whose authorship is generally ascribed to Āśvaghoṣa.

It was about this time that along with the production of the Purāṇa literature by the followers of Hinduism the Mahāyanists got busy compiling their own sacred books. The idea of plurality of Buddhas was then widely circulated. The *Prajñā-Sūtras* (般若經) told of the existence of a Pure Land or a Buddha-land of purity outside this mundane world. The *Puṇḍarīka* (法華經) insisted on a double nature of Buddhahood, distinguished the earthly Śākyamuni as a manifestation from his original, the eternally transcendent one, while the *Avatamsaka* (華嚴經) conceived a Daśadhātukāya (十界身) Buddha who reveals himself throughout the ten worlds. The culmination of these metaphysical speculations concerning the nature of the Buddha was reached when Nāgārjuna in the second century after Christ propounded the dualistic conception of the Law-body and the natural body in the Buddha. This view is expressed in several places scattered throughout his memorable work called 智度論, a commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, which is a veritable encyclopedia of Buddhist knowledge and philosophy of those days. The passages bearing on the subject are extracted below.

“The Buddha has two bodies: one is his body of Dharma-nature and the other is the natural body born of his parents. The Body of Dharma-nature fills the ten quarters of space, is measureless and limitless; its form is serene, its features are majestic; it is infinitely radiant, and it is endowed with infinite speeches. The audience, also with the body of Dharma-

nature and invisible to mortal eyes, fills the universe. Manifesting himself at all times, in all forms, in all names, and at all places, and by all means, he delivers sentient beings; thus always delivering every being, the Buddha knows no time of rest for himself. It is in this way that the Buddha in his Body of Dharma-nature delivers all sentient beings in all the worlds in the ten quarters, while that which suffers the result of evil karma is the mortal body of the Buddha. The mortal Buddha preaches according to grades as all human things are graded. Because of this double form of Buddhahood, he suffers misery yet is free from faults."<sup>(1)</sup>

"Kosala is the country where the Buddha was born, and as he knows how to show his gratitude, he frequently stayed at Śrāvastī.....As he perfected his Body of Dharma he also frequently stayed at Rājagriha.....As the Body of the Dharma excels his created body he stayed more frequently at Rājagriha than at Śrāvastī."<sup>(2)</sup>

"There are two bodies in the Buddha, one is the body of miraculous transformation and the other is the body born of his parents. As the latter is subject to human conditions it is not comparable to the heavenly one."<sup>(3)</sup>

"It is asked: 'All the Buddhas in the ten quarters and all dharmas of the past, present, and future are forms of no-form; why do we then speak of the thirty-two characteristic marks of the Buddha? When there is not a form of reality,

(1) 智度論九 (往一五八)

佛有二種身。一者法性身。二者父母生身。是法性身滿十方虛空。無量無邊。色像端正。相好莊嚴。無量光明。無量音聲。聽法衆亦滿虛空。此衆亦是法性身。非生死人所得見也。常出種種身。種種名號。種種生處。種種方便。度衆生。常度一切。無須臾息時。如是法性身佛。能度十方世界衆生。受諸報者。是生身佛。生身佛次第說法如人法。以有二種佛故。受諸罪無咎。

(2) 智度論三 (往一二三)

憍薩羅國佛生身地。知恩故多住舍婆提。……成就法身故多住王舍城。……法身於生身勝故。二城中多住王舍城。

(3) 智度論十 (往一六六)

佛身二種。一神通變化身。二父母生身。父母生身受人法故。不如天。

why this reference to the thirty-two marks?' . . . . . 'Because of his created body we speak of the thirty-two characteristic marks of the Buddha; but because of his Body of the Dharma, we speak of forms of no-form.' "(1)

"The Buddha with a created body sat on a grass-seat under the tree, while the Buddha with the body born of the Dharma-nature makes a seat of the heavenly robe." (2)

"The Buddha has two bodies: One is the body born of the Dharma-nature, and the other is the body manifested in accordance with the qualities of sentient beings." (3)

"There are two Buddhas, one in his true body and the other in his transformation body. When beings see the Buddha in his true body, every wish of theirs is fulfilled. The true body of the Buddha fills the universe and his radiance illumines throughout the ten quarters. His voice when preaching resounds all through the worlds in the ten quarters, which are as numerous as the sands of the Ganga." (4)

"Buddha has two bodies, one is the Dharmakāya and the other is the Rūpakāya (material body). The Dharmakāya is the true Buddha, and the Buddha has a material body because of the earthly truth. When causes and conditions are considered from the point of view of the Body of the Dharma, the nature of all things is truly revealed." (5)

(1) 智度論二十九 (往二·四八)。

問曰。十方諸佛及三世諸法。皆無相相。今何以故說三十二相。一相尚不實。何況三十二。……爲生身故說三十二相。爲法身故說無相。

(2) 智度論三四 (往二·七七)。

生身佛把師樹下坐。法性生身佛以天衣爲座。

(3) 智度論三四 (往二·七九)。

有二種佛。一者法性生身佛。二隨衆生變劣現化佛。

(4) 智度論三〇 (往二·五一)。

佛身有二種。一者真身。二者化身。衆生見佛真身。無願不滿。佛真身者遍於虛空。光明遍照十方說法音聲亦遍十方無量恆河沙等世界。

(5) 智度論五九 (往五·九八)。

佛有二種身。一者法身。二者色身。法身是真佛。色身爲世諦故有佛。法身相上。種々因緣。說諸法實相。



In *Hymns of the Universe* (*dharmadhātu* 法界讚), generally ascribed to Nāgārjuna, allusion is made to the doctrine of the Trikāya (triple body of the Buddha), but I am sceptical about the authorship of this śāstra. *Sanskrit Hymns on the Triple Body* (三身梵讚) is also regarded by the Tibetans as Nāgārjuna's, but the fact alone that the verse is written in āryagīta seems to point another way. Seeing how many references Nāgārjuna makes in his Commentary on the *Prājñāpāramitā* to the double, instead of the triple, body of the Buddha, it is highly problematical that he would take up another theory in comparatively insignificant works and sing the praise of the triplicity of Buddhahood. I should rather consider him an advocate of the Duākāya theory.

Here however rises a certain difficulty concerning Nāgārjuna's attitude towards the Amitābha Buddha and his Pure Land as taught in the *Larger Amitāyus* and other Sūtras, with which undoubtedly he must have been acquainted. How did he regard this Buddha? As the physical Buddha, or as one of the Dharmakāya? In his conception of the Dharmakāya there is yet no differentiation between Dharmakāya itself and Sambhogakāya as in the dogma of the Trikāya which evidently developed later than Nāgārjuna, and consequently his Amitābha must have been of the Dharmakāya. But as we know there is room enough for his Dharmakāya to harbour two distinct notions, the Dharmakāya as the ground of the physical Buddha born of his parents, (in this case the Dharmakāya being identical with Suchness, *tathatā*), and secondly the Tathāgata residing in the Land of Purity, who is an actual existence with distinctive characteristics. Nāgārjuna's commentary on the "Buddha's Land of Purity" (淨佛土品) in the *Prājñāpāramitā-Sūtra* lacks clearness and penetration. Inasmuch as we admit the existence of many Buddhas along with the conception of the Tathāgata as the Body of the Dharma-nature or as the formless Dharmakāya, and inasmuch



as we admit also the authority of the Mahāyanā scriptures, the inadequacy of the Duākāya theory grows all the more apparent. The theory had to develop further yet. As to Nāgārjuna's idea of the Tathāgata as expounded in the *Madhyamika*, which is directed against the common-sense view of it, this need not engage our attention here.

The further elaboration of Buddhology after Nāgārjuna appears in the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra* (大般涅槃經) and the *Sandhinirmocana-Sūtra* (解深密經), and this idea was later systematised by Asanga and adopted in the *Śvārnabhāṣya-Sūtra* (金光明經), *Meditation on the Ground of Mind* (心地觀經), and other Sūtras.

The *Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra* deriving its Buddha-conception from that of the Mahāsāṅghika school emphasises the Nāgārjunian view that the Buddha has two bodies, one impermanent and the other permanent, or the one the Body of the Dharma and the other the body born of the parents, and that the human Buddha which is a manifestation seemed, as far as our mortal eye was concerned, to have entered into Nirvana and in truth did not enter into it. We read in the Sūtra: "This body of mine is not, ultimately speaking, the product of carnal union. . . . . This body of mine is no more than the Dharmakāya, which in accordance with worldly conditions manifests itself on earth, enters into the maternal womb, etc., etc. . . . . The Body of the Tathāgata is no other than the Dharmakāya itself, and is not composed of flesh, blood, muscles, veins, bones, and marrows. . But because of its conforming to the human conditions on earth, it revealed itself first as a babe, etc. . . . . By performing the human functions the Buddha merely conceded to the conditions of the world."<sup>(1)</sup>

(1) 大般涅槃經四 (盈五·二二).

我此身畢竟不從姪欲和合而得生. . . . . 我今此身即法身. 隨順世間. 示現入胎. . . . . 如來身者即是法身. 非是肉血筋脉骨髓之所成立. 隨順世間衆生法故. 示爲嬰兒. . . . . 大小便利出入息等, 隨順世間如是示.

In the seventh volume of the *Parinirvāṇa-Sūtra*, the author vindicates himself against the charge that the mythical conception of the Buddha is a heresy. He makes the Buddha himself prophesise this by saying that the Buddha told Mahākāśyapa of such a charge likely to be made against true Buddhists seven hundred years after his death. The charge is met by declaring that all the human conditions under which the Buddha was revealed to his disciples and worshippers were merely the earthly modes of his transcendental Tathāgataship.

In the *Sandhinirmocana* the Dharmakāya of the Tathāgata is conceived to be that which is obtained by a Bodhisattva when all the Virtues of Perfection are practised at every stage of discipline to their fullest extent so that all the conditions of deliverance are fulfilled and perfect enlightenment is finally attained. This Dharmakāya manifests itself in a body of transformation going through all the phases of human existence, such as conception, birth, renunciation, ascetic practises, and enlightenment, and it is this human body of transformation that is seen and heard and served by sentient beings, while the Dharmakāya is that which supports the body of transformation. The Buddha conceived by Nāgārjuna as issued from the human parents, is according to the *Sandhinirmocana* a body of transformation reflecting the light of the Dharmakāya.

## VII

That the theory of the Triple Body came to be formulated in Buddhism as we have it now was due to the genius of Asanga (無著) who following Nāgārjuna went still deeper into the ideas of the *Parinirvāṇa* and the *Sandhinirmocana*. In his *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-sāstra* (攝大乘論), we read:

"How do we know the greatness of Buddhahood?<sup>(1)</sup> We know it on account of the triple body of Buddhahood, 1. Body

(1) This may not be quite an appropriate term for 果智, which literally means the Buddha's wisdom obtained as the fruit of his long discipline.

of Self-nature, 2. Body of Enjoyment, and 3. Body of Transformation. By the Body of Self-nature is meant the Dharmakāya of all the Tathāgatas, for it is the basis of all things and makes it possible for them to change from one state to another. By the Body of Enjoyment is meant the assemblage of all the Buddhas in the Land of Purity, which is manifested through the virtue of the Dharmakāya, it is the body that will enjoy all the spiritual pleasures of the Mahāyāna. By the Body of Transformation is meant the one who, depending upon the Dharmakāya, showed itself in Tushita heaven and then disappeared therefrom; who was born on earth and became capable of passions; left his home going over the wall, and under the heretics practised all forms of asceticism; and who attaining to the great perfect wisdom (*mahābodhi*) revolved the great wheel of the Law, and passed into great Nirvana."<sup>(1)</sup>

The Body of Self-nature (*svabhāvakāya*) corresponding to the Dharmakāya, and the Body of Enjoyment (*sambhogakāya*) corresponding to the Vipākakāya (Recompense Body) and together with the Body of Transformation (*nirmānakāya*), have finally come to establish the dogma of the Triple Body of the Tathāgata. The basis and reason of the Triple Body is the Dharmakāya, through which the other two Bodies are capable of maintaining their existence, and consequently the three separate bodies are in fact the three aspects of one essence in which we conceive Tathāgatahood. The object of worship or faith has thus now been transferred from the historical and natural Buddha to the Vipākakāya Buddha or Recompense Body of Tathāgatahood. This doctrine of the Triple Body has

(1) 攝大乘論下 (來九. 四十三).

彼果智殊勝云何可見。謂由三種佛身。應知彼果智殊勝。一由自性身。二由受用身。三由變化身。此中自性身者。謂諸如來法身。一切法自在轉所依止故。受用身者。謂依法身。種々衆會所顯清淨佛土。大乘法樂爲所受。變化身者。亦依法身。從觀世多天宮。現。沒。受生。受欲。論說。出家。往外道所修諸苦行。證大菩提。轉大法輪。入大涅槃故。

since then been adopted in such Sūtras as the *Suvarṇaprabhā*, the *Meditation on the Ground of Mind*, etc., and in the following Śāstras: Vasubandhu's *Saddharma-puṇḍarikasūtra-upadeśa* (世親著, 妙法蓮華經優波提舍), Dharmapala's *Vijñāna-mātra-siddhi-śāstra* (護法著, 成唯識論), Bandhuprabhā's *Discourse on the Stages of Buddhahood* (*Buddhabhūmika*, 親光著, 佛地經論), *Hymns of Dharmadhātū* (讚法界頌), *Hymns of the Trikāya* (三身梵讚), and so on.

The *Suvarṇaprabhā* treats of the Trikāya theory in one of its chapters entitled "Distinction of the Three Bodies," (三身分別品), but as this chapter does not appear in the Sanskrit original recently discovered and also in the earliest Chinese translation by Dharmarakṣa (曇無讖, 412-421), we may reasonably conclude that the dogma of the Triple Body developed later than the compilation of the earlier *Suvarṇaprabhā*. Whatever this was, the dogma as incorporated in the later version of the Sūtra has evidently followed Asaṅga.

"There are three bodies in the Tathāgata. What are they? 1. The Body of Transformation, 2. The Body of Response, and 3. The Body of the Law. How does the Bodhisattva understand the Body of Transformation? While the Tathāgata is still at the stage of discipline, he practises all kinds of disciplinary rules for the sake of sentient beings; and thus disciplining himself he finally attains perfection in it. Because of the power thus gained through his discipline, he attains great freedom, he thoroughly understands all sentient beings each according to his disposition, conduct, and position. When the Tathāgata manifests himself in various forms, he does not wait for the time, nor does he miss the time; he is always in accordance with the place, time, and conduct of all beings, and discourses for them accordingly. This is his Body of Transformation.

"How does the Bodhisattva understand the Body of Response? In order to make all the Bodhisattvas obtain a

thorough passageway, a Tathāgata preaches the truth by which they come to understand the oneness of Samsāra (birth-and-death) and Nirvana. This Body which is characterised with the thirty-two major and the eighty minor marks of a superior man and invested with a halo around the head and back, is manifested by the Tathāgata, because sentient beings are to be freed from the fears and joys that arise from their materialistic conception of the Tathāgata, because a basis is to be established for the doctrine of the Buddha, which knows no limits, and because the strength of the original vow which is in all truth in accordance with the Reality of Suchness and with the Wisdom of Suchness [is such as to make the Tathāgata assume this Body of Response]. This is known as the Body of Response.

“How does the Bodhisattva understand the Dharmakāya? When in order to get rid of all the hindrances arising from the passions, etc., and to be in possession of all possible forms of goodness, the Reality of Suchness and the Wisdom of Suchness alone are conceived, we have the Body of the Dharma.

“The first two Bodies have a nominal existence, but the third truly and really exists and is the foundation for the first two. . . . . When Nirvana with residue (*upadhiśeṣa*) is spoken of the Buddha, it is because of the first two Bodies, while Nirvana without residue (*anupadhiśeṣa*) is spoken of only because of the Dharmakāya. . . . . In one sense the Three Bodies are said to be eternal and in another sense they are said not to be eternal. When the Body of Transformation is conceived to be always revolving the Wheel of the Law, manifesting itself everywhere in reponse to conditions, and never ceasing to work out means of salvation, the Body is said to be eternal; but as it is not fundamental, it does not reveal all the great functions that it is in full possession of, and then it is called not eternal. When the Body



of Response is conceived to be in continual existence from beginningless time, and to be constantly at work as long as there are beings in existence whom all the Buddhas embrace in their unique virtues, the Body is said to be eternal; but as it is not fundamental it does not reveal all the functions that it is in full possession of, and then it is called not eternal. As to the Dharmakāya, it is not a mode of action, there is no trace of becoming in it, and as it is the ground of all things, it is like unto space, and it is said eternal."<sup>(1)</sup>

The doctrine advanced in the *Meditation on the Ground of Mind* (心地觀經), which was translated into Chinese by an Indian monk called Prajñā and others in 785-810, A. D., closely follows Asanga even using his term, Vipākakāya or the Body of Recompense, which shows that this Sutra was produced later than Asanga. We read: "In the one sole Buddha-treasure there are three Bodies, 1. Body of Self-nature, 2. Body of Enjoyment, and 3. Body of Transformation. . . . There are two aspects in the Body of Enjoyment, that of self-enjoyment and that of other enjoyment."<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) 金光明經(黃九), 分別三身品(五紙以下).

一切如來有三種身。云何爲三。一者化身。二者應身。三者法身。……云何菩薩了知化身。善男子。如來昔在修行地中。爲一切衆生修種々法。如是修習。至修行滿。修行力故得大自在。自在力故隨衆生意行界悉皆了別。不待時不過時處相應。時相應。行相應。說法相應。現種々身。是名化身。

云何菩薩了知應身。謂諸如來爲諸菩薩通達故。說於眞諦。爲會解了生死涅槃是一味故。爲除身見衆生怖畏歡喜故。爲無邊佛法而作本故。如實相應如々如々智本願力故。是身得現具三十二相八十種好頂背圓光。是名應身。

云何菩薩摩訶薩了知法身。爲除諸煩惱等障。爲具諸善法故。唯有如々如々智。是名法身。

前二種是假名有。此第三身是眞實有。爲前二身而作根本。……善男子。依此二身一切諸佛說有余涅槃。依此法身說無余涅槃。……

以有義故而說於常。以有義故說無常。……

化身者恒轉法輪。處々隨緣。方便相續。不斷絕故。是故說常。非是本故。具足大用不顯現故。說爲無常。應身者。從無始來。相續不斷。一切諸佛不共之法。能攝持故。衆生無盡。用亦無盡。是故說常。非是本故。以具足用不顯現故。說爲無常。法身者非是行法。無有異相。是根本故。猶如虛空。是故說常。

(2) (字二·五三).

唯一佛寶具三種身。一自性身二受用身三變化身。……其受用身有二種相。一自受用二他受用。……

In the *Lankāvatara* (楞伽經) it is stated that "all things that are seen among sentient beings and Bodhisattvas in all the countries in the ten quarters including the Body of Recompense, the Body of Transformation, and all other manifestations, issue from the Blessed Land of the Infinite Life. All the preachings to be found in the 'diffusive class' of sutras such as the esoteric doctrines, doctrines taught by sons of the Buddhas, and those of other teachers, are the preachings delivered by the Buddha-body of Transformation and not by the real Body of Recompense."<sup>(1)</sup>

As this portion of the *Lankāvatara* is a much later addition to the main earlier text, the statement quoted here naturally presents the original theory of the Triple Body in a modified form by regarding primitive Buddhism as the preaching of a Transformation Body.

Vasubandhu's *Saddharma-piṇḍarīka-sūtra-upadeśa* also reflects Asaṅga's theory of the Trikāya as we can see in the following extract: "This is the doctrine without equal.... because it demonstrates the perfect wisdom (*bodhi*) of the Buddha in his triple aspect: 1. It demonstrates the perfect wisdom of the Response Body and the Transformation Body of the Buddha, which is demonstrated everywhere in accordance with the understanding [of the disciples], as we read in the Sūtra about the Tathāgata's escape from the palace of the Śākyas and his attainment of the unparalleled perfect enlightenment while sitting at the holy place not far from the city of Gaya; 2. It demonstrates the perfect wisdom of the Buddha's Recompense Body which is realised by him when he gains permanent Nirvana after fulfilling all the disciplinary exercises belonging to the ten stages of Bodhisattvaship, as we read in the Sūtra, 'O son of a good family, since I attained

(1) (黃六. 一一四).

十方諸刹土. 衆生菩薩中所有法. 報佛化身及變化. 皆從無量壽極樂界中出. 應知密意說. 所有佛子說. 及諸導師說. 悉是化身說. 非是實報佛.

to Buddhahood it is already innumerable hundred thousand myriads of nayutas of kalpas'; 3. It demonstrates the perfect wisdom of the Buddha's Dharmakāya, that is to say, the essential purity of the Tathāgata-garbha (如來藏), its abiding in Nirvana, its eternality, its refreshing coolness, its immutability, etc.; for it is said in the Sutra that the Tathāgata truly perceives and understands the character and grades of the triple world and not as is done by beings in it."<sup>(1)</sup>

Asanga's theory of the Triple Body thus grows more pronouncedly enunciated in the Sutra literature as well as in the Śāstras.

Bandhuprabha, in his treatise on the *Sutra on the Stages of Buddhahood* (佛地經論, 卷一及二), explains the text in the light of the Trikāya doctrine, while Vasubandhu also follows Asanga in his work *Discourse on the Ten Stages* (十地論) where he refers to the Law Body, Recompense Body, and in the Sutra with the title of *Mahāyānabhisamaya* (大乘同性經), mention is made of the True Body, the Body of Recompense, and the Body of Response.

In the foregoing I hope I have made it in a general way clear as to how the dogma of the Triple Body first started from the worshipful attitude of the earlier Buddhists towards their Master, which resulted in the conception of the Law Body (Dharmakāya), and how this latter conception, once finding an articulate expression both in the Sutras and the śāstras, steadily grew up so as to make Nāgārjuna formulate his theory of the Two Bodies (*dvikāya*) of the Tathāgata, and finally how this Nāgārjuna doctrine developed into Asanga's

(1) (往六·六四丁左)。

示現三種佛菩提故。一者示現應化佛菩提。隨所應見而爲示現。如經皆謂。如來出釋氏宮。去伽耶城不遠。往於道場。得成阿耨多羅三藐三菩提故。二者示現報佛菩提。十地行滿足。得常涅槃置故。如經。善男子。我實成佛已來。無量無邊。百千萬億那由他劫故。三者示現法佛菩提。謂如來藏性淨。涅槃常恆。清涼。不變。等義。如經。如來如實知見三界之相次第。乃至不如三界見於三界故。



Trinity where the third Body, the Vipākakāya or the Body of Recompense, came to find its legitimate place. The Trinity, thus complete as dogma, has now put the Vipākakāya Buddha in the place of the natural Buddha as the Buddhist object of faith, making its content ever deeper and ever more enhancing. This reconstruction of the theory of the Buddha-body marks one of the dividing lines between the Mahāyāna and the Hinayāna.

CHIZEN AKANUMA

## THE MEDITATION HALL, AND IDEALS OF THE MONKISH DISCIPLINE

### I

TO get a glimpse into the practical and disciplinary side of Zen, we have to study the institution known as the Meditation Hall. It is an educational system quite peculiar to the Zen sect. Most of the main monasteries belonging to this sect are provided with Meditation Halls, and in the life of the Zen monks more than anywhere else we are reminded of that of the Buddhist Brotherhood (*Sangha*) in India. This system was founded by the Chinese Zen Master, Hyakujo (百丈, 720-814), more than one thousand years ago. Until his time the monks used to live in monasteries belonging to the Vinaya sect (律寺), which were governed by a spirit not quite in accordance with the principles of Zen. As the latter grew more and more flourishing and its followers kept on increasing in number and in influence, there was need for its own institution, exclusively devoted to the promotion of its objects. According to Hyakujo, the Zen monasteries were to be neither Hinayanistic nor Mahayanistic, but they were to unite the disciplinary methods of both schools in a new and original manner, best suited to the realisation of the Zen ideals, as they were conceived by the masters of the earlier days.

Of these ideals as distinguished from those of the other Buddhist schools originated in China, the one to be considered most characteristically Zen and at the same time animating its long history is the notion of work or service. Hyakujo left a famous saying which was the guiding principle of his life and is preëminently the spirit of the Meditation Hall. It is this: "No work, no living." When he was thought by his devoted disciples too old to work in the garden, which was his daily

occupation, they hid all his garden implements, as he would not listen to their repeated oral remonstrances. He then refused to eat, saying, "No work, no living."<sup>(1)</sup> At all the Meditation Halls work is thus considered a vital element in the life of the monk. It is altogether a practical one and chiefly consists in manual labour, such as sweeping, cleaning, cooking, fuel-gathering, tilling the farm, or going about begging in the villages far and near. No work is considered beneath their dignity, and a perfect feeling of brotherhood and democracy prevails among them. How hard or how mean from the ordinary point of view a work may be, they will not shun it. They believe in the sanctity of manual labour. They keep themselves busy in every way they can, they are no idlers as some of the so-called monks or mendicants are, physically at least, as in India for instance.

Hyakujo must have had a profound knowledge of human psychology thus to make work the ruling spirit of the monastery life. His idea of "No work, no eating" did not necessarily originate from an economic or ethical valuation of life. His sole motive was not that nobody deserved his daily bread if he did not earn it with the sweat of his face. True, there is a virtue in not eating the bread of idleness, and there have been so many Buddhists since the early days of Buddhism, who thought it a most disgraceful thing to be living on others' earnings and savings. Hyakujo's object, while it might have been unconsciously conceived, was more psychological in spite of his open declaration, "No work, no eating." It was to save his monks from a mental inactivity or an unbalanced development of mind which too often results from the meditative habit of the monkish life. When muscles are not exercised for the execution of spiritual truths, or when the

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(1) Literally, "A day [of] no work [is] a day [of] no eating." (一日不作一日不食). Cf. II. Thessalonians, III, 10: "If any would not work, neither should he eat."

unity of mind and body is not put to practical test, the severance generally issues in inimical results. As the philosophy of Zen is to transcend the dualistic conception of flesh and spirit, its practical application will naturally be, dualistically speaking, to make the nerves and muscles the most ready and absolutely obedient servants of the mind, and not to make us say that the spirit is truly ready but the flesh is weak. Whatever religious truths of this latter statement, psychologically it comes from the lack of a ready channel between mind and muscles. Unless the hands are habitually trained to do the work of the brain, the blood ceases to circulate evenly all over the body, it grows congested somewhere, especially in the brain. The result will be not only an unsound condition of the body in general but a state of mental torpidity or drowsiness, in which ideas are presented as if they were wafting clouds. One is wide awake and yet the mind is filled with the wildest dreams and visions which are not at all related to realities of life. Fantasies are fatal to Zen, and those who practise Zen considering it a form of meditation are too apt to be visited upon by this insidious enemy. Hyakujo's insistence upon manual work has saved Zen from falling into the pitfalls of antinomianism as well as a hallucinatory mode of mind.

Apart from these psychological considerations, there is a moral reason which ought not to escape attention in our estimate of Hyakujo's wisdom in instituting work as vital part of Zen life. For the soundness of ideas must be tested finally by their practical application. When they fail in this, that is, when they cannot be carried out in our everyday life producing lasting harmony and satisfaction and giving real beneficence to all concerned,—to oneself as well as to others, no ideas can be said to be sound and practical. While physical force is no standard to judge the value of ideas, the latter, however logically consistent, have no reality when they are not joined to life. Especially in Zen abstract ideas that do not

convince one in practical living are of no value whatever. Conviction must be gained through experience and not through abstraction, which means that conviction has no really solid basis except when it can be tested in our acting efficient life. Moral assertion or "bearing witness" ought to be over and above an intellectual judgment, that is to say, the truth must be the product of one's living experiences. Idle reveries are not their business, the Zen followers will insist. They, of course, sit quiet and practise *zazen* (坐禪); for they want to reflect on whatever lessons they have gained while working. But as they are against chewing the cud all the time, they put in action whatever reflections they have made during hours of quiet-sitting and test their validity in the vital field of practicality. It is my strong conviction that if Zen did not put faith in acting its ideas, the institution would have long before this sunk into a mere somniferous and trance-inducing system, so that all the treasures thoughtfully hoarded by the masters in China and Japan would have been cast away as heaps of rotten stuff.

Perhaps unwittingly supported by these reasons, the value of work or service has been regarded by all Zen followers as one of their religious ideals. It is not impossible that the idea was greatly enforced by the characteristic industry and practicalness of the Chinese people by whom Zen was mainly elaborated. The fact is that if there is any one thing that is most emphatically insisted upon by the Zen masters as the practical expression of their faith, it is serving others, doing work for others, not ostentatiously indeed but secretly, without making others know of it. Says Eckhart, "What a man takes in by contemplation he must pour out in love." Zen would say, "Pour it out in work," meaning by work the active and concrete realisation of love. Tauler made spinning and shoe-making and other homely duties gifts of the Holy Ghost; Brother Lawrence made cooking sacramental; George

Herbert wrote :

" Who sweeps a room as to thy laws  
Makes that and the action fine."

These are all expressive of the spirit of Zen, as far as its practical side is concerned. Mystics are thus all practical men, they are far from being visionaries whose souls are too absorbed in things unearthly or of the other world to be concerned with their daily life. The common notion that mystics are dreamers and star-gazers ought to be corrected, as it has no foundation in facts. Indeed, psychologically, there is a most intimate and profound relationship between a practical turn of mind and a certain type of mysticism ; the relationship is not merely conceptual or metaphysical. If mysticism is true, its truth must be a practical one verifying itself in every act of ours, and, most decidedly, not a logical one, to be true only in our dialectics. Sings a Zen poet known as Hokoji (龐居士) :

"How wondrously supernatural,  
And how miraculous, this !  
I draw water, and I carry fuel !"

(神通並妙用 運水及搬柴)

## II

The Meditation Hall (禪堂, *Zendo*, in Japanese), as it is built in Japan, is a rectangular building of different sizes according to the number of monks to be accommodated. One at Engakuji, Kamakura, is about 36×65 feet. This will probably accommodate thirty-five monks. The space allotted to each monk is one *tatami*, 3×6 feet, where he sits, meditates, and sleeps at night. The bedding for each never exceeds, winter or summer, one large wadded quilt. He has no regular pillow except that which is temporarily made up by himself out of his own private possessions. These latter, however, are next to nothing ; for they are *kesa* (袈裟) and *koromo* (衣) (priestly robes = *kashāya* in Sanskrit), a few books,

a razor, and a set of bowls, all of which are put up in a box about  $3 \times 10 \times 3\frac{1}{2}$  inches large. In travelling this box is carried in front supported by a sash about the neck. The entire property thus moves with the owner. "One dress and one bowl, under a tree and on a stone," is the graphical description of the monkish life in India. Compared with this, the modern Zen monk must be said to be abundantly supplied. Still his wants are reduced to a minimum and no one can fail to lead a simple, perhaps the simplest, life if he models his after that of the Zen monk. The desire to possess is considered by Buddhism to be one of the worst passions mortals are apt to be obsessed with. What in fact causes so much misery in the world is due to a strong impulse of acquisitiveness. As power is desired, the strong always tyrannise over the weak; as wealth is coveted, the rich and poor are always crossing their swords of bitter enmity. International wars rage, social unrest ever goes on, unless the impulse to have and hold is completely uprooted. Cannot a society be reorganised upon an entirely different basis from what we have been used to see from the beginning of history? Cannot we ever hope to stop the amassing of wealth and the wielding of power merely from the desire for individual or national aggrandisement? Despairing of the utter irrationality of human affairs, the Buddhist monks have gone to the other extreme and cut themselves off even from reasonable and perfectly innocent enjoyments of life. However, the Zen ideal of putting up the monk's belongings in a tiny box a little larger than a foot square and three inches high, is their mute protest, though so far ineffective, against the present order of society.

In this connection it will be of interest to read the admonition left by Daito the National Teacher, 大燈國師, (1282-1337), to his disciples. He was the founder of Daitokuji, Kyoto, in 1326, and is said to have spent about one

third of his life which was not a very long one among the lowest layers of society under the Gojo bridge, begging his food, doing all kinds of menial work, and despised by the so-called respectable people of the world. He did not care for the magnificence of a prosperous and highly-honoured temple life led by most Buddhist priests of those days, nor did he think much of those pious and sanctimonious deeds that only testify to the superficiality of their religious life. He was for the plainest living and the highest thinking. The admonition reads :

“O you, monks, who are here in this mountain monastery, remember that you are gathered for the sake of religion and not for the sake of clothes and food. As long as we have shoulders [that is, the body], we have to wear clothes, and as long as we have a mouth, we have to eat ; but be ever mindful, throughout the twelve hours of the day, to apply yourselves to the study of the Unthinkable. Time passes like an arrow, never let your minds be disturbed by worldly cares. Ever, ever be on the look-out. After my wandering away, some of you may have fine temples in prosperous conditions, towers and halls and holy books all decorated in gold and silver, and devotees may noisily crowd into the grounds ; some may pass hours in reading the sūtras and reciting dhāranis, and sitting long in contemplation, may not give themselves up to sleep ; they may, eating once a day and observing the fast-days, and, throughout the six periods of the day, practise all the religious deeds. Even when they are thus devoted to the cause, if their thoughts are not really dwelling on the mysterious and untransmittable Way of Buddhas and Fathers, they may yet come to ignore the law of moral causation, ending in a complete downfall of the true religion. All such belong to the family of evil spirits ; however long my departure from the world may be, they are not to be called my descendants. Let however there be just one



individual, who may be living in the wilderness in a hut thatched with one bundle of straw and passing his days by eating roots of the wild vegetables cooked in a pot with broken legs; but if he single-mindedly applies himself to the study of his own [spiritual] affairs, he is the very one who has a daily interview with me and knows how to be grateful for his life. Who should ever despise such a one? O monks, be diligent, be diligent!"

In India, the Buddhist monks never eat in the afternoon. They properly eat only once a day as their breakfast is no breakfast in the sense an English or American breakfast is. So, the Zen monks too are not supposed to have any meal in the evening. But the climatic necessity in China and Japan could not be ignored, and they have an evening meal after a fashion; but to ease their conscience it is called "medicinal food (藥石)." The breakfast which is taken very early in the morning while it is still dark, consists of rice gruel and pickled vegetables (*tsukemono*).

The principal meal at 10 a.m. is rice (or rice mixed with barley), vegetable soup, and pickles. In the afternoon, at four, they have only what is left of the dinner—no special cooking is done. Unless they are invited out or given an extra treatment at the homes of some generous patrons, their meals are such as above described, year in year out. Poverty and simplicity is their motto.

One ought not, however, to consider asceticism the ideal life of Zen. As far as the ultimate signification of Zen is concerned, it is neither asceticism nor any other ethical system. If it appears to advocate either the doctrine of suppression or that of detachment, the supposed fact is merely on the surface; for Zen as a school of Buddhism more or less inherits an odium of the Hindu discipline. The central idea, however, of the monkish life is not to waste, but to make the best possible use of things as they are given us, which is also the

spirit of Buddhism in general. In truth, the intellect, imagination, and all other mental faculties as well as the physical objects surrounding us, our own bodies not excepted, are given us for the unfolding and enhancing of the highest powers possessed by us as spiritual entities and not merely for the gratification of our individual whims or desires, which are sure to conflict with and injure the interests and rights asserted by others. These are some of the inner ideas underlying the simplicity and poverty of the monkish life.

### III

As there is something to be regarded as peculiarly Zen in the table manners of the monks, some description of them will be given here.

At meal time a gong is struck, and the monks come out of the Meditation Hall in procession carrying their own bowls to the dining room. The low tables are laid there all bare. They sit when the leader rings the bell. The bowls are set,—which are by the way made of wood or paper and well lacquered. A set consists of four or five dishes, one inside the other. As they are arranging the dishes and the waiting monks go around to serve the soup and rice, the *Prajñāpāramitā Hridaya Sūtra*<sup>(1)</sup> is recited followed by the “Five Meditations,” 五觀, on eating, which are: “First, of what worth am I? Whence is this offering? Second, accepting this offering, I must reflect on the deficiency of my virtue. Third, to guard over my own heart, to keep myself away from faults such as covetousness, etc.,—this is the essential thing. Fourth, this food is taken as good medicine in order to keep the body in healthy condition. Fifth, to ensure spiritual attainment this food is accepted.” After these “Meditations,” they continue to think about the essence of Buddhism: “The first mouthful

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(1) An English translation of this short sutra will appear in the following number of this magazine.

js to cut off all evils; the second mouthful is to practise every good; the third mouthful is to save all sentient beings so that everybody will finally attain to Buddhahood."

They are now ready to take up their chop-sticks, but before they actually partake of the sumptuous dinner, the demons or spirits living somewhere in the triple world are remembered; and each monk taking out about seven grains of rice from his own bowl, offers them to those unseen, saying, "O you, demons and other spiritual beings. I now offer this to you, and may this food fill up the ten quarters of the world and all the demons and other spiritual beings be fed therewith!"

While eating quietude prevails. The dishes are handled noiselessly, no word is uttered, no conversation goes on. Eating is a serious affair with them. When a second bowl of rice is wanted, the monk folds his hands before him. The monk-waiter notices it, comes round with the rice-receptacle called *ohachi*, and sits before the hungry one. The latter takes up his bowl and lightly passes his hand around the bottom before it is handed to the waiter. He means by this to take off whatever dirt that may have attached itself to the bowl and that is likely to soil the hand of the serving monk. While the bowl is filled, the eater keeps up his hands folded. If he does not want so much, he gently rubs the hands against each other, which means "Enough, thank you."

Nothing is to be left when the meal is finished. The monks eat up all that is served them, "gathering up of the fragments that remain." This is their religion. After a fourth helping of rice, the meal generally comes to an end. The leader claps the wooden blocks and the serving monks bring hot water. Each dinner fills the largest bowl with it, and in it all the smaller dishes are neatly washed, and wiped with a piece of cloth which each monk carries. Now a wooden pail goes around to receive the slop. Each monk gathers up his dishes and wraps them up once more, saying, "I have

now finished eating, and my physical body is well nourished : I feel as if my will-power would shake the ten quarters of the world and dominate over the past, present, and future : turning both the cause and the effect over to the general welfare of all beings, may we all unfailingly gain in powers miraculous !” The tables are now empty as before except those rice grains offered to the spiritual beings at the beginning of the meal. The wooden blocks are clapped, thanks are given, and the monks leave the room in orderly procession as they came in.

#### IV

Their industry is proverbial. When the day is not set for study at home, they are generally seen, soon after breakfast, about half past five in summer and about half past six in winter, out in the monastery grounds, or in the neighbouring villages for begging, or tilling the farm attached to the Zendo. They keep the monastery, inside as well as outside, in perfect order. When we say, “This is like a Zen temple,” it means that the place is kept in the neatest possible order. When begging they go out miles away. Commonly, attached to a Zendo there are some patrons whose houses the monks regularly visit and get a supply of rice or vegetables. We often see them along the country road pulling a cart, loaded with pumpkins or potatoes. They work as hard as ordinary labourers. They sometimes go to the woods to gather kindlings or fuel. They know something of agriculture too. As they have to support themselves in these ways, they are at once farmers, labourers, and skilled workmen. For they often build their own Meditation Hall under the direction of an architect.

These monks are a self-governing body. They have their own cooks, proctors, managers, sextons, masters of ceremony, etc. Though the master or teacher of a Zendo is its soul, he is not directly concerned with its government. This is left to the senior members of the community, whose characters have

been tested through many years of discipline. When the principles of Zen are discussed, one may marvel at their deep and subtle metaphysics and imagine what a serious, pale-faced, head-drooping, and world-forgetting group of people these monks are. But in their actual life they are after all common mortals engaged in menial work, but they are cheerful, cracking jokes, willing to help one another, and despising no work which is usually considered low and not worthy of an educated hand. The spirit of Hyakujo is ever manifest among them.

It was not only the monks that worked but the master himself shared their labour. He tilled the farm, planted trees, weeded the garden, picked tea-leaves, and was engaged in all other kinds of manual work, together with his disciples. Making use of such opportunities he gave them practical lessons in the teaching of Zen, and the disciples too did not fail to appreciate his instructions. When Joshu was sweeping the courtyard, a monk asked him, "How does the dust come into this holy ground?" When Nansen was working outdoors with his monks, Joshu who was told to watch over fire suddenly cried out "Fire! fire!" Isan said to Kyozan while both were picking tea-leaves: "I hear your voice all day but I do not see you, pray show yourself out." While working on the farm a monk happened to cut an earth-worm into two with his spade whereupon he asked the master Chōsha (長沙景岑), "The earth-worm is cut in twain and both parts are still wiggling; in which of them is the Buddha-nature present?" One day Obaku was weeding with a rake, and seeing Rinzai without one asked, "How is it that you do not carry any rake?" Another day observing Rinzai, resting on a rake, said Obaku, "Are you tired?" For brevity I have cut out the rest of the dialogues that follow the initial questions, but those who know know well that all these manifestly trivial events of daily life, thus handled by the masters, grow full of signification.

## V

The monks thus develop their faculties all around. They receive no literary, that is, formal education which is gained mostly from books and abstract instruction. But their discipline and knowledge are practical and efficient; for the basic principle of the Zendo life is "learning by doing." They despise the so-called soft education which is like those pre-digested foods meant for the convalescent. When a lioness gives birth to her children, it is proverbially believed that after three days she will push them down over a deep precipice and see if they can climb back to her again. Those that fail to come out of this trial are not taken care of any more. Whether this is true or not, something like that is aimed at by the Zen master who will treat the monks with every manner of seeming unkindness. The monks have not enough clothes to put on, not enough food to indulge in, not enough time to sleep, and, to cap these, they have plenty of work to do, menial as well as spiritual. The outer needs and the inward aspirations, if they work on harmoniously and ideally, will finally end in producing fine characters well trained in Zen as well as in the real things of life. This unique system of education which is still going on at every Zendo is not so well known among the laity even in this country. And then the merciless tides of modern commercialism leave no corner uninvaded, and before long the solitary island of Zen may be found buried, as everything else, under the waves of sordid materialism. The monks themselves are beginning not to understand the great spirit of the successive masters. Though there are some things in the monastic education which may be improved, its highly religious and reverential feeling must be preserved if Zen is at all to live for many years yet to come.

Theoretically, the philosophy of Zen transcends the whole range of discursive understanding and is not bound by rules of antithesis. But this is very slippery ground, and there

are many that fail to walk erect. When they stumble, the result is sometimes quite disastrous. Like some of the Medieval mystics, the Zen students may turn into libertines, losing all control over themselves. History is a witness to this, and psychology can readily explain the process of such degeneration. Therefore, says a Zen master, "Let one's ideal rise as high as the crown of Vairochana, [the highest divinity,] while his life may be so full of humility as to make him prostrate before the baby's feet." Which is to say, "if any man desire to be first the same shall be last of all, and servant of all." Therefore, the monastery life is minutely regulated and all the details are enforced in strict obedience to the spirit already referred to. Humility, poverty, and inner sanctification—these ideals of Zen are what saves Zen from sinking into the level of the Medieval antinomians. Thus we can see how the Zendo discipline plays a great part in the teachings of Zen and their practical application to our daily life.

When Tanka, 丹霞天然 (738-824), of the T'ang dynasty stopped at Yerinji of the Capital, it was so severely cold that he finally took one of the Buddha images enshrined there and made fire with it in order to warm himself. The keeper of the shrine seeing this was greatly exercised.

"How dare you burn up my wooden Buddha?"

Tanka said, as if searching for something with his stick in the ashes, "I am gathering the holy *sariras*<sup>(1)</sup> in the burnt ashes."

"How," said the keeper, "could you get *sariras* by burning a wooden Buddha?"

Retorted Tanka, "If there are no *sariras* to be found in it, may I have the remaining two Buddhas for my fire?"

The shrine-keeper later lost his eye-brows for remonstrating against the apparent impiety of Tanka, while the Buddha's wrath was never visited upon the latter.

Though one may doubt its historical occurrence, this is

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(1) 舍利, indestructible substance formed in the body of a saint.

a notable story, and all the Zen masters agree as to the higher spiritual attainment of the Buddha-desecrating Tanka. When later a monk asked a master about Tanka's idea of burning a Buddha's statue, said the master,

"When cold, we sit around the hearth with burning fire."

"Was he then at fault or not?"

"When hot, we go to the bamboo grove by the stream;"—  
this was the answer.

Whatever the merit of Tanka from the purely Zen point of view, there is no doubt that such deeds as his are to be regarded as highly sacrilegious and to be avoided by all pious Buddhists. Those who have not yet gained a thorough understanding of Zen may go to all lengths to commit every manner of crime and excess, even in the name of Zen. For this reason, the regulations of the monastery are very rigid that pride of heart may depart and the cup of humility be drunk to the dregs.

When Shuko (祿宏) of the Ming dynasty was writing a book on the ten laudable deeds of a monk, one of those high-spirited, self-assertive fellows came to him, saying, "What is the use of writing such a book when in Zen there is not even an atom of a thing to be called laudable or not?" The writer answered, "The five aggregates (*skandha*) are entangling, and the four elements (*mahābhūta*) grow rampant, and how can you say there are no evils?" The monk still insisted, "The four elements are ultimately all empty and the five aggregates have no reality whatever." Shuko, giving him a slap on his face, said, "So many are mere learned ones; you are not the real thing yet; give me another answer." But the monk made no answer and went off filled with angry feelings. "There," said the master smilingly, "why don't you wipe the dirt off your own face?" In the study of Zen, the power of an all-illuminating insight must go hand in hand with a deep sense of humility and meekness of heart.

Let me cite, as one instance of teaching humility, the



experience which a new monk-applicant is first made to go through when he formally approaches the Meditation Hall. The applicant may come duly equipped with certificates of his qualifications and with his monkish paraphernalia consisting of such articles as already mentioned, but the Zendo authorities will not admit him at once into their company. Generally, some formal excuse will be found: they may tell him that their establishment is not rich enough to take in another monk, or that the Hall is already too full. If the applicant quietly retires with this, there will be no place for him anywhere, not only in that particular Zendo which was his first choice, but in any other Zendo throughout the land. For he will meet a similar refusal everywhere. If he wants to study Zen at all, he ought not to be discouraged by any such excuse as that.

The persistent applicant will now seat himself down at the entrance porch, and, putting his head down on the box which he carries in front of him, calmly wait there. Sometimes a strong morning or evening sun shines right over the recumbent monk on the porch, but he keeps on in this attitude without stirring. When the dinner hour comes, he asks to be admitted in and fed. This is granted, for no Buddhist monasteries will refuse food and lodging to a travelling monk. After eating, however, the novice goes out again on the porch and continues his petition for admittance. No attention will be paid to him until the evening when he asks for lodging. This being granted as before, he takes off his travelling sandals, washes his feet, and is ushered into a room reserved for such purposes. But most frequently he finds no bedding there, for a Zen monk is supposed to pass his nights in deep meditation. He sits upright all night evidently absorbed in the contemplation of a *kō-an*. In the following morning he goes out as in the previous day to the entrance hall and resumes the same posture as before express-

sive of an urgent desire to be admitted. This may go on three or five or sometimes even seven days. The patience and humility of the new applicant are tried thus hard until finally he will be taken in by the authorities, who, apparently moved by his earnestness and perseverance, will try somehow to accommodate him.

This procedure is growing to be somewhat a formal affair, but in olden days when things were not yet settled into a mere routine, the applicant monk had quite a hard time, for he would actually be driven out of the monastery by force. We read in the biographies of the old masters of still harder treatments which were mercilessly dealt out to them.

The Meditation Hall is regulated with militaristic severity and precision to cultivate such virtues as humility, obedience, simplicity and earnestness in the monkish hearts that are ever prone to follow indiscriminately the extraordinary examples of the old masters, or that are liable to put in practice in a crude and undigested manner the high doctrines of a Śūnyatā philosophy such as is expounded in the *Prajñāpāramitā-sāstra*. A partial glimpse of such life we have already gained in the description of the table manners as above.

## VI

There is a period in the monastic life, exclusively set apart for mental discipline, and not interrupted by any manual labour except such as is absolutely needed. It is known as great "Sesshin"\* (禪心), and lasts a week, taking place once in a month during the season called the "Summer

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\* I cannot tell how early this "Sesshin" originated in the history of Zendo. It is not in Hyakujo's Regulations, and did not start in China but in Japan probably after Hakuin. The sojourn period generally being a "stay at home" season, the monks do not travel, but practise "Sesshin" and devote themselves to the study of Zen; but in the week specially set up as such, the study is pursued with the utmost vigour.

Sojourn" and the "Winter Sojourn." The summer sojourn begins in April and ends in August, while the winter one begins in October and ends in February. "Sesshin" means "collecting or concentrating the mind." While this period is lasting, the monks are confined at the Zendo, get up earlier than usual, and sit further into the night. There is a kind of lecture every day during a "sesshin." Text books are used, the most popular of which are *The Hekiganshu* (碧巖集) and *Rinzairoku* (臨濟錄), the two being considered the most fundamental books of the Rinzai School. The *Rinzai-roku* is a collection of sermons and sayings of the founder of the Rinzai Zen sect. The *Hekiganshu*, as has been noted in a previous number of the present magazine, is a collection of one hundred Zen incidents with critical annotations. It goes without saying that there are many other books used for the occasion. To an ordinary reader, such books generally are a sort of *obscurum per obscurius*. After listening to a series of lectures, he is left in the lurch as ever. Not necessarily that they are so abstruse, but that the reader is still wanting in the insight into the truth of Zen.

The lecture is quite a solemn affair. Its beginning is announced by a bell, which stops ringing as soon as the master appears in the hall where what is known as "Teisho"\* takes place. While the master is offering incense to the Buddha and to his departed master, the monks recite a short Dharani-sūtra called *Daihiyu* (大悲咒) which means "great compassion." Being a Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit original, mere recitation of the Sutra does not give any intelligent sense. Probably the sense is not essential in this case, the assurance is sufficient that it contains something

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\* That is, 提唱 (*Teisho*). *Tei* means "to show forth" or "manifest," and *sho* "to recite." Thus by a Teisho the old master is revived before the congregation and his discourses are more or less vividly presented to view.

auspicious and conducive to spiritual welfare. What is more significant is the way in which it is recited. Its monotone punctuated with a wooden time-keeper known as "Mokugyo," 木魚 (wooden fish), prepares the mind of the audience for the coming event. After the Dhāraṇī which is recited three times the monks read in chorus generally the exhortatory sermon left by the founder of the monastery. In some places nowadays Hakuin's "Song of Zazen" is often chanted. The following are translations of Hakuin and of Musō Kokushi whose last exhortatory sermon is one of the most popular.

#### MUSŌ KOKUSHI'S\* ADMONITORY SERMON.

I have three kinds of disciples: He who, vigorously shaking off all entangling circumstances, and with singleness of thought applies himself to the study of his own [spiritual] affairs, is of the first class. He who is not so single-minded in the study, but, scattering his attention, is fond of booklearning, is of the second. He who, covering his own spiritual brightness, is only occupied with the dribblings of the Buddhas and Fathers is called the lowest. As to those minds that are intoxicated by secular literature and engaged in establishing themselves as men of letters, they are simply laymen with shaven heads, they do not belong even to the lowest. As regards those who think only of indulging in food and sleep and give themselves up to indolence, could such be called members of the Black Robe? They are truly, as were designated by an old master, "clothes-racks and rice-bags." Inasmuch as they are not monks, they ought not to be permitted to call themselves my disciples and enter the monastery and sub-temple as well; even a temporary sojourn is to be prohibited, not to speak of their application as student-monks. When an old man like myself speaks thus, you may think he is lacking in all-embracing love, but the main thing is to let them know of their own faults and, reforming themselves, to become growing plants in the patriarchal gardens.

#### HAKUIN'S SONG OF MEDITATION.

All sentient beings are from the very beginning the Buddhas:  
It is like ice and water;  
Apart from water no ice can exist,  
Outside sentient beings, where do we seek the Buddhas?  
Not knowing how near the Truth is,

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\* The founder of Tenryūji, Kyoto. He is known as "Teacher of Seven Emperors," 1274-1361.

People seek it far away, what a pity!  
They are like him who, in the midst of water,  
Cries in thirst so imploringly;  
They are like the son of a rich man  
Who wandered away among the poor.  
The reason why we transmigrate through the six worlds,  
Is because we are lost in the darkness of ignorance;  
Going astray further and further in the darkness,  
When are we able to get away from birth-and-death?

As regards the Meditation practised in the Mahayana,  
We have no words to praise it fully,  
The Virtues of Perfection such as charity and morality,  
And the invocation of the Buddha's name, confession, and ascetic  
discipline,  
And many other good deeds of merit,—  
All these issue from the practise of Meditation.  
Even those who have attained it even for one sitting,  
Will see all their evil karma wiped clean;  
Nowhere they will find the evil paths,  
But the Pure Land will be near at hand.  
With a reverential heart, let them to this Truth  
Listen even for once,  
And let them praise it, and gladly embrace it,  
And they will surely be blessed most infinitely.

For such as, reflecting within themselves,  
Testify to the Truth of Self-nature,  
To the Truth that Self-nature is One-nature,  
They have really gone beyond the ken of sophistry.  
For them opens the gate of the oneness of cause and effect,  
And straight runs the path of non-duality and non-trinity.  
Abiding with the Not-particular in particulars,  
Whether going or returning, they remain ever unmoved;  
Taking hold of the Not-thought in thoughts,  
In every act of theirs they hear the voice of Truth.  
How boundless the sky of Samadhi unfettered!  
How transparent the perfect moon-light of the Fourfold Wisdom!  
At that moment what do they lack?  
As the Truth eternally calm reveals itself to them,  
This very earth is the Lotus Land of Purity,  
And this body is the Body of the Buddha.

The lecture lasts about an hour. It is quite different from an ordinary lecture on a religious subject. Nothing is explained, no arguments are set forward, no apologetics, no reasonings. The master is supposed simply to reproduce in words what is treated in the text-book before him. When the lecture ends, the Four Great Vows are repeated three times, and the monks retire to their quarters. The Vows are:

"How innumerable sentient beings are, I vow to save them all,  
How inexhaustible our evil passions are, I vow to exterminate them,  
How immeasurable the holy doctrines are, I vow to study them,  
How inaccessible the path of Buddhas is, I vow to attain it."

## VII

During the "sesshin," they have beside lectures what is known as "sanzen (參禪)". To do "sanzen" is to go to the master and present one's views on a kō-an (公案) for his critical examination. In those days when a special "sesshin" is not going on, "sanzen" will probably take place twice a day, but during the period of thought-collection—which is the meaning of "sesshin"—the monk has to see the master four or five times a day. This seeing the master does not take place openly,<sup>(1)</sup> the monk is required to come up individually to the master's room, where the interview goes on in a most formal and solemn manner. When the monk is about to cross the threshold of the master's room, he makes three bows prostrating himself on the floor. He now enters the room keeping his hands folded, palm to palm, before the chest, and when he comes near the master, he sits down and makes another bow. Once in the room, all worldly convention is

(1) Formerly, this was an open affair, and all the *mondos* (askings and answerings) took place before the whole congregation, as is stated in the Regulations of Hyakujo. But later on undesirable results followed, such as mere formalism, imitations, and other empty nonsense. In modern Zen, therefore, all sanzen is private, except on formal occasions. This too is often attended with evils.

disregarded. If absolutely necessary from the Zen point of view, blows may be exchanged. To make manifest the truth of Zen with all sincerity of heart is the sole consideration here, and everything else receives only a subordinate attention. Hence this elaborate formalism. The presentation over, the monk retires in the same way as before. One "sanzen" for over thirty monks will occupy more than one hour and a half. To have this four or five times a day must be a kind of ordeal for the master himself, if he is not of robust health.

An absolute confidence is placed in the master as far as his understanding of Zen goes. But if the monk has sufficient reason to doubt the master's ability, he may settle it personally with him at the time of sanzen. This presentation of views, therefore, is no idle play for either of the parties concerned. It is indeed a most serious affair, and because it is so the discipline of Zen has a great moral value outside its philosophy. How serious this is, may be guessed from the famous interviews between the venerable Shōju (正受) and Hakuin (白隱), father of modern Zen in Japan.

One summer evening when Hakuin presented his view to the old master who was cooling himself on the veranda, the master said, "Stuff and nonsense!" Hakuin echoed this loudly and rather satirically, "Stuff and nonsense!" Thereupon the master seized him, boxed him many a time, and finally pushed him off the veranda. It was soon after rainy weather, and the poor Hakuin rolled in the mud and water. Having recovered himself after a while, he came up and bowed to the teacher, who then remarked, "O you, denizen of the dark cavern!"

Another day Hakuin thought that the master did not know how deep his knowledge of Zen was and decided to have a settlement with him anyhow. As soon as the time came, Hakuin entered the master's room and exhausted all his in-



genuity in contest with him, making his mind up not to give away an inch of ground this time. The master was furious, and finally taking hold of Hakuin gave him several slaps and let him go over the porch. He fell several feet at the foot of the stone-wall, where he remained for a while almost senseless. The master looked down and heartily laughed at the poor fellow. This brought Hakuin back to his consciousness. He came up again all in perspiration. The master, however, did not release him yet and stigmatised him as ever with "O you, denizen of the dark cavern!"

Hakuin grew desperate and thought of leaving the old master altogether. When one day he was going about begging in the village, a certain accident made him all of a sudden open his mental eye to the truth of Zen, hitherto completely shut off from him. His joy knew no bounds and he came back in a most exalted state of mind. Before he crossed the front gate, the master recognised him and beckoned to him, saying, "What a good news have you brought home to-day? Come right in, quick, quick!" Hakuin then told him all about what he went through that day. The master tenderly stroked him on the back and said, "You have it now, you have it now." After this, Hakuin was never called names.

Such was the training the father of modern Japanese Zen had to go through. How terrible the old Shōju was when he pushed Hakuin down the stone-wall! But how motherly when the disciple after so much ill-treatment finally came out triumphantly! There is nothing lukewarm in Zen. If it is lukewarm, it is not Zen. It expects one to penetrate into the very depths of truth, and the truth can never be grasped until one comes back to one's native nakedness shorn of all trumperies, intellectual or otherwise. Each slap dealt by Shōju stripped Hakuin of his insincerities. We are all living under so many casings which really have nothing to do with our inmost self. To reach the latter, therefore, and to gain the

real knowledge of ourselves, the Zen masters resort to methods seemingly inhuman.

### VIII

In the life of the Zendo there is no fixed period of graduation as in a school education. With some, graduation may not take place even after his twenty years' boarding there. But with ordinary abilities and a large amount of perseverance and indefatigability, one is able to probe into every intricacy of the teachings of Zen within a space of ten years.

To practise the principle of Zen, however, in every moment of life, that is, to grow fully saturated in the spirit of Zen is another question. One life may be too short for it, for it is said that even Śākya and Maitreya themselves are yet in the midst of self-training.

To be a perfectly qualified master, a mere understanding of the truth of Zen is not sufficient. One must go through a period which is known as "the long maturing of the sacred womb (聖胎長養)." The term must have originally come from Taoism; and in Zen nowadays it means, broadly speaking, living a life harmonious with the understanding. Under the direction of a master, a monk may finally attain to a thorough knowledge of all the mysteries of Zen; but this is more or less intellectual, though in the highest possible sense. The monk's life, in and out, must grow in perfect unison with this attainment. To do this a further training is necessary; for what he has gained at Zendo is after all the pointing of the direction where his utmost efforts have to be put forth. But it is not at all imperative now to remain in the Zendo. On the contrary, his intellectual attainments must be further put on trial by coming in actual contact with the world. There are no prescribed rules for this "maturing." Each one acts on his own discretion in the accidental circumstances in which he may find himself. He may retire into the mountains and

live a solitary hermit, or he may come out into the market and be an active participant in all the affairs of the world. The Sixth Patriarch is said to have been living among the mountaineers for fifteen years after he left the Fifth Patriarch. He was quite unknown in the world until he came out to a lecture by Inshu (印宗). Chu, the National Teacher, (南陽忠國師) spent forty years in Nanyang and did not show himself out in the capital. But his holy life became known far and near, and at the urgent request of the Emperor he finally left his hut. Isan (潑山) spent several years in the wilderness, living on nuts and befriending monkeys and deer. However, he was found out and big monasteries were built about his anchorage, he became master of 1,500 monks. Kwanzan (關山), the founder of Myōshinji, Kyoto, retired to Mino province, and worked as day-labourer for the villagers. Nobody recognised him until one day an accident brought out his identity and the court insisted on his founding a monastery in the capital.<sup>(1)</sup> Hakuin became the keeper of a deserted temple to Suruga which was his sole heritage in the world. We can picture to ourselves the scene of its dilapidation when we read this: "There were no roofs and the stars shone through at night. Nor was there any floor. It was necessary to have a rain-hat and to put on a pair of high *getas* when anything was going on in the main part of the temple. All the property attached to it was in the hands of the debtors, and the priestly belongings were mortgaged to the merchants."—This was the beginning of Hakuin's career.

There are many other notable ones; the history of Zen abounds with such instances. The idea however is not to practise asceticism, it is the "maturing," as they have properly designated, of one's moral character. Many serpents and adders are waiting at the porch, and if one fails to trample them

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(1) As to the life of his teacher, Daito, reference is made elsewhere.

down effectively, they raise the heads again and the whole edifice of moral culture built up in vision may collapse even in one day. Antimonianism is also the pitfall for Zen followers, against which a constant vigil is needed. Hence this "maturing."

## IX

In some respects, no doubt, this kind of education prevailing at the Zendo is behind the times. But its guiding principles such as simplification of life, not wasting a moment idly, self-independence, and what they call "secret virtue," are sound for all ages. Especially, this latter is one of the most characteristic features of Zen discipline. "Secret virtue" means practising goodness without any thought of recognition, neither by others nor by oneself. The Christians may call this the doing of "Thy will." A child is drowned, and I get into the water, and it is saved. What was to be done was done. Nothing more is thought of it. I walk away and never turn back. A cloud passes, and the sky is as blue and as broad as ever. Zen calls it a "deed without merit," and compares it to a man's work who tries to fill up a well with snow.

This is the psychological aspect of "Secret Virtue," when it is religiously considered, it is to regard and use the world reverentially and gratefully, feeling as if one were carrying on one's shoulders all the sins of the world. But this ought not to be understood in the Christian sense that a man must spend all his time in prayer and mortification for the absolution of sin. For a Zen monk has no desire to be absolved from sin, this is too selfish an idea, and Zen is free from egotism. The Zen monk wishes to save the world from the misery of sin, and as to his own sin he lets it take care of itself, as he knows it is not a thing inherent in his nature. For this reason it is possible for him to be one of those who are des-

cribed as "they that weep as though they wept not; and they that rejoice as though they rejoiced not; and they that buy as though they possessed not; and they that use this world as not abusing it."

Says Christ, "When thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth; that thine alms may be in secret." This is the "secret virtue" of Buddhism. But when he goes on to say that "thy Father who seeth in secret shall recompense thee," there we see a deep cleavage between Buddhism and Christianity. As long as there is any thought of anybody, whether he be God or Devil, knowing of your doings, Zen would say, "you are not yet one of us." Deeds that are accompanied by such thoughts are not "meritless deeds," but full of tracks and shadows. If a Spirit is tracing you, he will in no time get hold of you and make you account for what you have done. The perfect garment shows no seams, inside and outside; it is one complete piece and nobody can tell where the work began and how it was woven. In Zen, therefore, there ought not to be left any trace of consciousness after the doing of alms, much less the thought of recompensation even by God. The Zen ideal is to be "the wind that bloweth where it listeth, and the sound of which we hear but cannot tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth."

Lieh-tze (列子), the Chinese philosopher, describes this frame of mind in a graphic manner as follows: "I allowed my mind without restraint to think of whatever it pleased and my mouth to talk about whatever it pleased; I then forgot whether the 'this and not this' was mine or other's, whether the gain and loss was mine or other's; nor did I know whether Lao-shang-shin was my teacher, and whether Pa-kao was my friend. In and out, I was thoroughly transformed; and then it was that the eye became like the ear, and the ear like the nose, and the nose like the mouth; and there was nothing that was not identified. The mind was concentrated, and the

form dissolved, and the bones and flesh all thawed away: I did not know where my form was supported, where my feet were treading; I just moved along with the wind, east and west, like a leaf of a tree detached from the stem, I was not conscious whether I was riding on the wind or the wind riding on me."

## X

As I stated before, the Zen followers do not approve of Christians, even Christian mystics, being too conscious of God who is the creator and supporter of all life and all being. Their attitude towards the Buddha and Zen is that of Lieh-tze riding on the wind; a complete identification of the self with the object of thought is what is aimed at by the disciples of Jōshu, Ummon, and other leaders of Zen. This is the reason why they are all loath to hear the word Buddha or Zen mentioned in their discourse, not because indeed they are anti-Buddhists, but because they have so thoroughly assimilated Buddhism in their being. Listen to the gentle remonstrance given by Hōyen (法演), of Gosoan (五祖山), to his disciple Yengo (圓悟):

Goso said, "You are all right, but you have a trifle fault." Yengo asked two or three times what that fault was. Said the master at last, "You have altogether too much of Zen." "Why," protested the disciple, "if one is studying Zen at all, don't you think it the most natural thing for one to be talking of it? Why do you dislike it?" Replied Goso, "When it is like an ordinary everyday conversation, it is somewhat better." A monk happened to be there with them, who asked, "Why do you specially hate talking about Zen?" "Because it turns one's stomach," was the master's verdict.

Rinzai's way of expressing himself in regard to this point is quite violent and revolutionary. And if we were not acquainted with the methods of Zen teachings, such passages as are quoted

below would surely make our teeth chatter and our hair stand on end. The reader may think the author simply horrible, but we all know well how earnestly he feels about the falsehoods of the world and how unflinchingly he pushes himself forwards through its confusion worse confounded. His hands may be compared to Jehovah's in trying to destroy the idols and causing the images to cease. Read the following, for instance, in which Rinzai (林際) endeavours to strip one's spirit off its last raiment of falsehood.

“O you, followers of Truth, if you wish to obtain an orthodox understanding [of Zen], do not be deceived by others. Inwardly or outwardly, if you encounter any obstacles, kill it right away. If you encounter the Buddha, kill him; if you encounter the Patriarch, kill him; if you encounter the Arhat or the parent or the relative, kill them all without hesitation: for this is the only way to deliverance. Do not get yourselves entangled with any object, but stand above, pass on, and be free. As I see those so-called followers of Truth all over the country, there are none who come to me free and independent of objects. In dealing with them, I strike them down any way they come. If they rely on the strength of their arms, I cut them right off; if they rely on their eloquence, I make them shut themselves up; if they rely on the sharpness of their eyes, I will hit them blind. There are indeed so far none who have presented themselves before me all alone, all free, all unique. They are invariably found caught by the idle tricks of the old masters. I have really nothing to give to you, all that I can do is to cure you of the diseases and deliver you from bondage.

“O you, followers of Truth, show yourselves here independent of all objects, I want to weigh the matter with you. For the last five or ten years I have waited in vain for such, and there are no such yet. They are all ghostly existences, ignominious gnomes haunting the woods or bamboo-groves,



they are elfish spirits of the wilderness. They are madly biting into all heaps of filth. O you, mole-eyed, and wasting all the pious donations of the devout! Do you think you deserve the name of a monk, when you are still entertaining such a mistaken idea [of Zen]? I tell you, no Buddhas, no holy teachings, no disciplining, no testifying! What do you seek in a neighbour's house? O you, mole-eyed! You are putting another head over your own! What do you lack in yourselves? O you, followers of Truth, what you are making use of at this very moment, is none other than what makes a patriarch or a Buddha. But you do not believe me and seek it outwardly. Do not commit yourselves to an error. There are no realities outside, nor is there anything inside you may lay your hands on. You stick to the literal meaning of what I speak to you, but how far better it is to have all your hankerings stopped and be doing nothing whatever!" etc., etc.

This was the way Rinzai wanted to wipe all the trace of God-consciousness in the mind of a truth-seeker. How he wields Thor-like his thunder-bolt of harangue!

## XI

The state of mind in which all traces of conceptual consciousness are wiped out is called by the Christian mystics poverty, and Tauler's definition is: "Absolute poverty is thine when thou canst not remember whether anybody has ever owed thee or been indebted to thee for anything; just as all things will be forgotten by thee in the last journey of death."

The Zen masters are more poetic and positive in their expression of the feeling of poverty, they do not make a direct reference to things worldly. Sings Mumon (無門):

"Hundreds of spring flowers; the autumnal moon;  
A refreshing summer breeze; winter snow;

Free thy mind of all idle thoughts,  
And for thee how enjoyable every season is!

Or according to Shuan (守安):

"At Nantai I sit quietly with an incense burning,  
One day of rapture, all things are forgotten,  
Not that mind is stopped and thoughts are put away,  
But that there is really nothing to disturb my serenity."

This is not to convey the idea that he is idly sitting and doing nothing particularly; or that he has nothing else to do but to enjoy the cherry-blossoms fragrant in the morning sun, or the lonely moon white and silvery: he may be in the midst of work, teaching pupils, reading the sutras, sweeping and farming as all the masters have done, and yet his own mind is filled with transcendental happiness and quietude. He is living in God as Christians may say. All hankerings of heart are departed, there are no idle thoughts clogging the flow of life-activity, and thus he is empty and poverty-stricken. As he is poverty-stricken, he knows how to enjoy the "spring flowers" and the "autumnal moon." When worldly riches are amassed in his heart, there is no room left there for such celestial enjoyments. The Zen masters are wont of speaking positively about their contentment and unworldly riches. Instead of saying that they are empty-handed they talk of the natural sufficiency of things about them. Yogi (楊岐), however, refers to his deserted habitation where he found himself to be residing as keeper. One day he ascended the lecturing chair in the Hall and began to recite his own verse:

"My dwelling is now here at Yogi; the roofs and walls, how  
weather-beaten!

The whole floor is covered white with snow crystal,  
Shivering down the neck, I am filled with thoughts:"

After a pause he added the fourth line:

"How I recall the ancient masters whose habitat was no better  
than the shade of a tree!"

Kyōgen (香嚴) is more direct apparently in his allusion to poverty:

“My last year’s poverty was not poverty enough,  
My poverty this year is poverty indeed;  
In my poverty last year there was room for a gimlet’s point,  
But this year even the gimlet is gone.”

The aim of Zen discipline is to attain to the state of “non-attainment” as it is technically expressed. All knowledge is an acquisition and accumulation, whereas Zen proposes to deprive one of all one’s possessions. The spirit is to make one poor and humble thoroughly cleansed of inner impurities. Learning, on the contrary, makes one rich and arrogant. Because learning is earning, the more learned, the richer, and therefore “in much wisdom is much grief; and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.” It is after all “vanity and a striving after wind.” Zen will heartily endorse this too. Says Laotze (老子), “Scholars gain everyday while the Taoists lose everyday.” The consummation of this kind of loss is “non-attainment,” which is poverty. Poverty in another word is emptiness, *śūnyatā*. When the spirit is all purged of its filth accumulated from time immemorial, it stands naked, with no raiments, with no trappings. It is now empty, free, genuine, assuming its native authority. And there is a joy in this, not that kind of joy which is liable to be upset by its counterpart, grief, but an absolute joy which is “the gift of God” which makes a man “enjoy good in all his labour,” and from which nothing can be taken, to which nothing can be put, but which shall stay for ever. Non-attainment, therefore, in Zen is positive conception, and not merely privative. The Buddhist modes of thinking are sometimes different from those of the West, and Christian readers are often taken aback at the idea of emptiness and at the too unconditioned assertion of idealism. Singularly, however, all the mystics, Buddhist or no, agree in their idea of poverty being the end of their spiritual development.

In Christianity, we seem to be too conscious of God, though we say that in Him we live and move and have our being. Zen wants to have even this last trace of God-consciousness, if possible, obliterated. That is why Zen followers advise us not to linger even where the Buddha is and to pass quickly away where he is not. All the training of the monk in the Zendo, in theory as well as in practice, is based on the notion of "meritless deed." Poetically, this idea is expressed as follows:

"The bamboo shadows are sweeping the stairs,  
But no dust is stirred:  
The moonlight penetrates deep in the bottom of the pool,  
But no trace is left in the water,"

## XII

The monastery life is not all working and sitting quiet meditating on the *kō-an*. There is something of intellectual life, in the form of lecturing as has already been referred to. Anciently, however, there was no regular "sesshin," and all the lecturing or giving sermons to the congregation was carried on on the feast days, memorial days, or on other auspicious occasions such as receiving visitors, honourably discharging the officials, or completing given pieces of work. Every available opportunity was thus used intellectually to enlighten the earnest seekers of the truth. Those discourses, sermons, exhortations, and short pithy remarks so characteristic of Zen are recorded in its literature, the bulk of which indeed consists of nothing but these. While claiming to be above letters, Zen is filled with them, almost overfilled. Before giving some of such sermons, let me digress and say a few words about the Chinese language as the vehicle of Zen philosophy.

To my mind, the Chinese language is preëminently adapted for Zen, it is probably the best medium of expression for Zen as long as its literary side alone is thought of. Being monosyllabic the language is terse and vigorous, and a

single word is made to convey so much meaning in it. While vagueness of sense is perhaps an unavoidable shortcoming accompanying those advantages, Zen knows how to avail itself of it, and the very vagueness of the language becomes a most powerful weapon in the hand of the master. He is far from wanting to be obscure and misleading, but a well-chosen monosyllable grows when it falls from his lips into a most pregnant word loaded with the whole system of Zen. Ummon is regarded as the foremost adept in this direction. To show the extreme laconism of his sayings, the following are quoted.

When he was asked what was the sword of Ummon, he replied, "Hung!" (揭)

"What is the one straight passage to Ummon?" "Most intimate!" (親)

"Which one of the Trikāya [Three Bodies of Buddha] is it that will sermonise? "To the point!" (要)

"I understand this is said by all the old masters, that when you know [the truth], all the karma-hindrances are empty from the beginning; but if you do not, you have to pay all the debts back. I wonder if the Second Patriarch knew this or not." Replied the master, "Most certainly!" (確)

"What is the eye of the true Dharma?" "Everywhere!" (普)

"When one commits patricide, or matricide, one goes to the Buddha to confess the sin; when however one murders a Buddha or patriarch, where should one go for confession?" "Exposed!" (露)

"What is the Tao [path, way, or truth]?" "Walk on!" (去)

"How is it that without the parent's consent one cannot be ordained?" "How shallow!" (淺) "I cannot understand." "How deep!" (深)

"What kind of phrase is it that does not cast any

shadow ? ” “ Revealed ! ” (現)

“ How do you have an eye in a question<sup>(1)</sup> ? ” “ Blind.”  
(瞽)

Just one monosyllable, and the difficulties are disposed of. The Zen master has generally nothing to do with circumlocution ; if any one is a direct and plain speaker, he is the directest in hitting the point and the plainest in expressing his thoughts without any encumbering appendages. To these purposes, the Chinese language is eminently suited. Brevity and forcefulness are its specific qualities, for each simple syllable is a word and sometimes even makes a complete sentence. A string of a few nouns with no verbs or with no connectives is often sufficient to express a complex thought. Chinese literature is naturally full of trenchant epigrams and pregnant aphorisms. The words are unwieldy and disconnected : when they are put together, they are like so many pieces of rock with nothing cementing them to one another. They do not present themselves as organic. Each link in the chain has a separate independent existence. But as each syllable is pronounced, the whole effect is irresistible. Chinese is a mystic language *par excellence*.

As terseness and directness is the life of Zen, its literature is full of idiomatic and colloquial expressions. The Chinese, as

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(1) Not an ordinary question asking enlightenment, but one that has a point in it showing some understanding on the part of the inquirer. All those questions already quoted must not be taken in their superficial or literary sense. They are generally metaphors. For instance, when one asks about a phrase having no shadow, he does not mean any ordinary ensemble of words known grammatically as such, but an absolute proposition whose verity is so beyond a shadow of doubt that every rational being will at once recognise as true on hearing it. Again, when reference is made to murdering a parent or a Buddha, it has really nothing to do with such horrible crimes, but as we have in Rinzai's sermon elsewhere, the murdering is transcending the relativity of a phenomenal world. Ultimately, therefore, this question amounts to the same thing as asking “ Where is the One to be reduced, when the Many are reduced to the One ? ”

you all know, being such sticklers of classic formalism, scholars and philosophers did not know how to express themselves but in elegant and highly polished style. And consequently all that is left to us in ancient Chinese literature is this classicism, nothing of popular and colloquial lore has come down to posterity. Whatever we have of the latter from the T'ang and the Sung dynasty is to be sought in the writings of the Zen masters. It is an irony of fate that those who so despised the use of letters as conveyor of truth and directly appealed to the understanding of an intuitive faculty became the bearers and transmitters of ancient popular idioms and expressions which were thrown away by the classical writers as unworthy and vulgar from the main body of literature. The reason however is plain. Buddha preached in the vernacular language of the people; so did Christ. The Greek or Sanskrit (or even Pali) texts are all later elaboration when the faith began to grow stale, and scholasticism had a chance to assert itself. Then the living religion turned into an intellectual system and had to be translated into a highly but artificially polished and therefore more or less stilted formalism. This had been what Zen most emphatically opposed from the very beginning, and the consequence was naturally that the language it chose was that which most appealed to the people in general, that is, to their hearts open for a new living light. The Zen masters whenever they could avoided the technical nomenclature of Buddhist philosophy, not only did they discuss such subjects as appealed to a plain man, but they made use of his everyday language which was the vehicle appreciated by the masses and at the same time most expressive of the central ideas of Zen. Thus became Zen literature a unique repository of ancient wisdom. In Japan too when Hakuin modernised Zen, he utilised profusely slangy phrases, colloquialisms, and even popular songs. This neological tendency of Zen is inevitable, seeing that it is creative and refuses to express itself in the



worn-out lifeless language of scholars and stylists. As the result even learned students of Chinese literature these days are unable to understand the Zen writings, even their literal meanings. Thus has Zen literature come to constitute a unique class of literary work in China, standing all by itself outside the main bulk of classical literature.

### XIII

It may not be inopportune in conclusion to give here some of the sermons by the masters as recorded in literature.

Jōshu (趙州)<sup>(1)</sup> says: "This thing is like holding up a transparent crystal in your hand. When a stranger comes, it reflects him as such; when a native Chinese comes, it reflects him as such. I pick up a blade of grass and make it work like a golden-bodied one<sup>(2)</sup> sixteen feet high. I again take hold of a golden-bodied one sixteen feet high and make him act like a blade of grass. Buddha is what constitutes human feelings and human feelings are no other than Buddhahood." A monk asked,<sup>(3)</sup>

"For whom are Buddha's feelings stirred?"

"His feelings are stirred for all sentient beings."

"How does he rid of them then?"

"What is the use of ridding of them?" answered the master.

On another occasion he said: "Kashyapa handed [the Law] over to Ananda, and can you tell me to whom Bodhi-

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(1) Jōshu (778-897) was one of the early masters of Zen in the T'ang dynasty when it began to flourish in its vigorous freshness. He attained to the high age of one hundred and twenty. His sermons were always short and to the point, and his answers were noted for their being so natural and yet so slippery, so hard to catch.

(2) This means Buddha who is supposed by Buddhists to have been the owner of a golden-coloured body.

(3) Generally after a sermon the monks come out and ask various questions bearing on the subject of the sermon, though frequently indifferent ones are produced too.

Dharma handed it over?" A monk said: "How is it that we read about the Second Patriarch's getting its marrow from Dharma?"

"Don't disparage the Second Patriarch," so saying, Jōshu continued: "Dharma claims that one who was outside got the skin and the inside one got the bone; but can you tell me what the inmost one gets?"

A monk said, "But don't we all know that there was one who got the marrow?"

Retorted the master: "He has just got the skin. Here in my place I do not allow even to talk of the marrow."

"What is the marrow then?"

"If you ask me thus, even the skin you have not traced."

"How grand then you are!" said the monk. "Is this not your absolute position, sir?"

"Do you know there is one who will not accept you?"

"If you say so, there must be one who will take another position."

"Who is such another?" demanded the master.

"Who is not such another?" retorted the monk.

"I will let you cry all you like."

The sermons are generally of this nature, short, and to outsiders unintelligible or almost nonsensical. But, according to Zen, all these remarks are the plainest and most straightforward exposition of the truth. When the formal logical modes of thinking are not resorted to, and yet the master is asked to express himself what he understands in his inmost heart, there are no other ways but to speak in a manner so enigmatic and so symbolic as to stagger the uninitiated. However, the masters themselves are right in earnest, and if you attach even the remotest notion of reproach to their remarks, thirty blows will be instantly on your head.

The next are from Ummon (雲門, d. 966).

Ummon ascended the platform and said: "O you venerable monks! Don't get confused in thought. Heaven is heaven, earth is earth, mountains are mountains, water is water, monks are monks, laymen are laymen." He paused for a while and continued, "Bring me out here that hill of Ansan and let me see!"

Another time he said, "Bodhisattva Vasudeva turned without any reason into a staff." So saying he drew a line on the ground with his own staff, and resumed. "All the Buddhas as numberless as sands are here talking all kinds of nonsense." He then left the Hall.

One day when he came out in the Hall as usual to give a sermon, a monk walked out of the congregation, and made bows to him, saying, "I beg you to answer." Ummon called out aloud, "O monks!" The monks all turned towards the master, who then came down from the seat.

Another day when he was silent in his seat for a while, a monk came out and made bows to him; said the master, "Why so late!" The monk made a response, whereupon the master remarked, "O you, good-for-nothing simpleton!"

Some day his sermon was somewhat disparaging to the founder of his own faith; for he said, "Ishvara, great lord of heaven, and the old Śākyamuni are in the middle of the courtyard and discoursing Buddhism; are they not noisy?"

Another day he said:

"All the talk so far I have had—what is it all about any way? Today again not being able to help myself I am here to talk to you once more. In this wide universe is there anything that comes up against you, or puts you in bondage? If there is ever a thing as small as the point of a pin lying in your way or obstructing your passage, get it out for me! What is it that you call a Buddha or a Patriarch? What are they that are known as mountains or rivers, the earth, sun, moon, or stars? What are they that you call the four

elements and the five aggregates? I speak thus, but it is no more than the talk of an old woman from a remote village. If I suddenly happen to meet a monk thoroughly trained in this matter, he will, on learning what I have been talking to you, carry you off the feet and put me down the steps. And for this would you be blamed? Whatever this may be, for what reason is it so? Don't be carried away by my talk and try to make nonsensical remarks. Unless you are the fellow really gone through the whole thing, you will never do. When you are caught unawares by such an old man as myself, you will at once lose your way and break your legs. And for which am I at all to be blamed? This being so, is there any one among you who wants to know a thing or two about the doctrine of our school? Come out and let me answer you. After this you may get a turning and be free to go out in the world, east or west."

A monk came out and was at the point of asking a question when the master hit his mouth with the staff, and descended from the seat.

One day when Ummon was coming up to the Lecture Hall he heard the bell, whereupon he said, "In such a wide, wide world, why do we put our monkish robes on when the bell goes like this?"

Next time simply saying, "Don't you try to add frost over snow. Take good care of yourselves, good-bye," he went off.

"Lo, and behold; the Buddha Hall has run into the monk's quarters." Later his own remark was, "They are beating the drum at Lafu, and a dance is going on at Shōjū."

Ummon seated himself in a chair before the Congregation, there was a pause for a while, and he remarked; "Raining so long, and not a day has the sun shone."

Another time, "Lo, and behold! No life's left!" So

saying, he acted as if he were falling. Then he asked, "Do you understand? If not, ask this staff to enlighten you."

As soon as Yōgi (楊岐), an ancient master of the Sung dynasty, got seated in his chair, he laughed loudly, "Ha, ha, ha!" and said, "Don't long for the rivers where in May or June we have our angling lines ready and go out singing, 'Let's Go Home.'"

One day Yōgi ascended the seat, and the monks were all assembled. The master, before uttering a word, threw his staff away and came right down jumping from the chair. The monks were about to disperse, when he called out, "O monks!" The latter turned back, whereupon said the master, "Take my staff in, O monks!" This said, the master went off.

Yakusan (藥山) gave no sermons for some little time, and the chief secretary came up to him asking for one. The master said, "Beat the drum then." As soon as the congregation was ready to listen to him, he went back to his own room. The secretary followed him and said, "You gave a consent to give them a sermon, and how is it that you uttered not a word?" Said the master, "The sutras are explained by the sutra specialists, and the śāstras by the śāstra specialists; why then do you wonder at me? [Am I not a Zen master?]"

One day Goso (五祖法演) entered the Hall and seated himself in the chair. He looked one way over one shoulder and then the other. Finally he held out his staff high in his hand and said, "Only one foot long!" Without a further comment he descended.

The foregoing selections from Ummon and Jōshū and others will be sufficient to acquaint the reader with what kind of sermons have been carried on in the monastery for the intellectual consumption of the monks. They are general-

ly short. The masters do not waste much time in explaining Zen, not only because it is beyond the ken of human discursive understanding, but because such explanations are not productive of any practical and lasting benefits for the spiritual edification of the monks. The masters' remarks are therefore necessarily laconic; sometimes they do not even attempt to make any wordy discussion or statement, but just raising the staff, or shaking the *hossu*, or uttering a cry, or reciting a verse, is all that the congregation gets from the master. Some, however, seem to have their own favorite way of demonstrating the truth of Zen; for instance, Rinzai (臨濟) is famous for his cry known as "*Katsu*" (喝) in Japanese, Tokusan (徳山) for his flourishing staff, Gutei (俱胝) for his lifting up a finger, Hima (秘魔) for his bifurcate stick, Kwasan (禾山) for beating a drum, and so on. It is wonderful to observe what a variety of methods have sprung up, so extraordinary, so ingenious, and so original, and all in order to make the monks realise the same truth, whose infinite aspects as manifested in the world may be comprehended by various individuals, each according to his own capacity and opportunity.

This article has grown already too long while there are some more things to write about the life in the Meditation Hall, and I must refrain from going further on. Taking all in all, Zen is emphatically a matter of personal experience; if anything can be called radically empirical, it is Zen. No amount of reading, no amount of teaching, and no amount of contemplation will even make one a Zen master. Life itself must be grasped in the midst of its flow, to stop it for examination and analysis is to kill it leaving its cold corpse to be embraced. Therefore, everything in the Meditation Hall and every detail of its disciplinary curriculum is so arranged as to bring this idea into the most efficient prominence.

The unique position maintained by the Zen sect among other Mahāyāna schools in Japan and China throughout the history of Buddhism in the Far East is no doubt due to the institution known as the Meditation Hall or Zendo.

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

## IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES.

### I. TÔFUKUJI, KYOTO.

TÔFUKUJI is one of the five chief monasteries of the Zen sect in Kyoto. It is picturesquely situated in the midst of large grounds in the southern part of Kyoto. In the autumn the many maple-trees turn red, and the scenes in Tofukuji are then very beautiful, and many pilgrims come hither to watch the flaming colours from the bridge above a deep gorge or sit in tiny tea-houses on wooded slopes, gazing with appreciation upon the leafy gorgeousness of colour.

Tofukuji is an ancient temple founded in 1236, and Benyen, later called Shōichi Kokushi, was its first abbot. He was a learned man and lived to an old age establishing various other temples besides Tōfukuji. He was so well loved that it is said that at his death all the trees at Tōfukuji turned pale and refused to don their flaming autumnal colouring. Even today, he is remembered at Tofukuji. On the fifteenth of every month, sutra-reading takes place at his tomb. At midnight of every day the temple bell booms forth. Far across the city, at Kenninji there is an answering boom at two o'clock in the morning. The reason for the ringing of these bells is this: Benyen was also the founder of Kenninji, and when he left Tofukuji for a time to take up his residence at Kenninji he left Tōfukuji at midnight and the priests tolled the bells at parting, to speed him off. But when he reached Kenninji, there the bells were rung to greet him, and during all these years now six hundred and sixty, not one night have the bells been silent but have spoken in loud, reverberating strokes to the *Λουαου* of the founder. Often have I listened to these bells at midnight, and my thoughts have turned to those early



days in the history of Buddhism in Japan when the worship of the Holy One was at its height and the temples now but shadows of their former splendour and activity were filled with devotees and saintly priests.

Tōfukuji is associated with the name of a famous man, the painter Chō-Densu. It was he who painted the great *kakemono* (hanging painting) of the Buddha's Nirvana. This picture is 48 by 24 feet. The Buddha lies on his right side and about him are his mourning disciples. Not only his followers but also coming to mourn are creatures of all kinds, the lion, monkey, dove, cricket, snake, etc. Now in Nirvana pictures by other painters, the cat is never depicted, for according to legend the cat was too busy catching rats to come to mourn. But in Chō-Densu's Nirvana picture the cat is to be seen and the story is told that when Chō-Densu was painting the picture there came a cat which sat beside him while he worked. So constant was the cat's presence that one day the painter decided to put its figure in the painting, saying, "You too desire to enter Nirvana." Thereupon the cat vanished and came to him no more. It is further related that before departing the cat brought to him some expensive and rare colouring material which he used with remarkable effect in his picture. In the treasures of Tōfukuji, there are other splendid pictures by Chō-Densu, notably the sixteen Arhats done in colours still brilliant. There is also a beautiful Kwannon (Goddess of Mercy) seated upon a rock against which the waves are breaking and above which the clouds are thick. The Goddess smiles serenely while the waves of illusion and the clouds of ignorance surround her, for has she not attained to the Enlightenment of Wisdom? Chō-Densu is also the one who carved the almost life-sized figures of the sixteen Arhats in the upper story of the great gate of Tōfukuji. These life-like and striking figures are most interesting and repay careful study.

Tōfukuji, like other famous temples, has suffered disastrous fires, the great one of 1881 having destroyed many of the finest buildings, including one that sheltered a great Buddha, only one hand of which remains, still preserved. The main building is however now in course of erection and will be very fine when completed.

The tomb of the founder stands in quite poetical surroundings above the Span of Heaven (the maple-viewing bridge). Down a quiet road lies the "Sōdō" (or Training School for Monks). The article in this number by Daisetz Suzuki, "The Meditation Hall and Ideals of the Monkish Discipline," describes the life the young monks lead here. Their home is presided over by the abbot Tenshin, personification of benevolence and serenity. A visit to him in his quiet rooms overlooking an old garden is like a visit to another and quieter world.

The expanse, seclusion, and quiet beauty of Tōfukuji is unequalled among Kyoto temples. Even in these modern days, the old place is picturesque, breathing of a distant past when Buddhism was great in the land; an aroma still hangs about of holy things, prayers and great pictures, revered shrines, and incense, old precious books and mementoes of ancient days. Yet modern life and needs are not forgotten in this quiet retreat. Here come many young men giving up the world for a life of meditation; here come men of affairs in this workaday world seeking temporary seclusion towards the renewal of their spiritual life; here take place lectures, and here societies connected with Buddhist study or work come to meet. Buddhism still keeps its hold upon the people of Japan, as a quiet temple like Tōfukuji can testify.

There are many sub-temples in Tōfukuji, in one of which, the Rikkyoku-an, the editors of this magazine reside. A few years ago it was for a time the home of Sunyananda, Buddhist scholar and devotee, follower of the Madhyamika philo-

sophy, learned in the Tibetan language and religion.

Rikkyoku-an is a large, massively constructed building with the usual sloping, projecting roof, peculiar to Buddhist temples. The main part of the edifice consists of the altar room with other rooms opening off it, separated by paper screens so that all may be thrown together in one large apartment if desired. A princess of the Imperial family was once the patroness of the temple, and so the Imperial crest of the sixteen-petalled chrysanthemum is to be found on the panels and the lintels of the rooms. Enshrined upon the altar is a semi-life-sized figure of Bussho Zenji (died 1297), the founder of this sub-temple, also a Kwannon, Goddess of Mercy, and another of the sixteen Arhats. Once a month on the twenty-fifth the priests come with offerings of flowers and incense to recite a sutra before the image of the founder.

Built on to this main building is another containing smaller rooms and the kitchen, an enormous room with high rafters. A large garden surrounding the building has many old trees and a pond. In one corner of it is a tombstone to the memory of Sôtetsu (1379-1458), a famous poet of the Ashikaga era. His memory is still revered after all these years and from time to time the neighbouring priests bring flowers to place before his grave and visitors also come to pay respect with lighted incense stick or a reverential bow.

In another corner of this garden is a shrine to the guardian gods of the temple; tablets in their honour stand in a miniature red temple. Back of this is a clump of trees—graceful, swaying bamboos, symbol of longevity, stately pines symbolic of fidelity with here and there a camellia bush and an orange tree. About the pond cluster the purple iris and from its banks the dwarf maple raises a dainty head. The garden is carpeted with moss and many quaint bushes and odd-shaped stones are to be seen. Not a sound except

the temple bell, the pensive, sweet note of the *shakuhachi* (Japanese flute) and the gentle "coo-coo" of the dove penetrates this quiet retreat.

Quite cut off from the world it seems, yet here silent and solitary, though it be, one feels the spirit of the Buddha; for it is in his honour and that of his devotee priest that the temple was reared, the sutras chanted, the flowers placed, the incense burned. In the lotus design upon the screens the history of Buddhism can be read, in the beautiful attitude of the merciful Kwannon its spirit be seen, and in the group of the sixteen Arhats the devotion of its followers be remembered.

SEIREN (BLUE LOTUS)

## EDITORIAL

We often hear critics making remarks about the Japanese lack of the sense of permanency, and among other causes they refer this to the influence of Buddhism. Has the Buddhist idea of impermanence really something to do with the Japanese character which expresses itself nowadays in the filmsiness of houses, the imperfect conditions of streets, or other forms of public utility? We were under the same impression for some time, but have lately come to the conclusion that the Buddhist teaching of *anicca* (transitoriness of things) has had no such effect on the Japanese at least as far as their material life is concerned.

If Buddhism teaches the impermanency of things, it also teaches the eternality of the Dharma (truth). The Japanese could be impressed by the latter just as much as the former. There is no reason why the former alone is to be brought out prominently and not the latter. Besides, even when we construct shattery houses, several conditions we can think of as contributing to this: for instance, the most efficient cause may lie in the native character of the people themselves; it may come from shortage of proper material, it may be due to the geographical, meteorological, or geological peculiarities of this island empire. And there are a few more questions we have to consider: How were we before Buddhism had come to this country? How are the Indians, Burmese, Javanese, Tibetans, Chinese, Koreans, and central Asiatic peoples, among whom, we have good reason to believe, Buddhism has had as much moral and spiritual influence as among ourselves?

As far as buildings go, no other people on earth, per-

haps except Egyptians, could ever have constructed such solid, permanent architecture as the Chinese have, before as well as after the introduction of Buddhism into that land. Had Confucianism or Taoism anything to do with this side of Chinese character? Taoism, if anything, at least in its earlier form, was too transcendental to be concerned with affairs of this changing and artificial world. As to Confucianism, its principal interests lay in our moral and social relations and did not go deep enough into the spiritual side of life. Confucianism helped the Chinese to build up a stronger political institution and a solid foundation of social life, but it had a very little to do, as far as we could see, with stimulating the people to the elaboration of deep philosophical systems and to the realisation of the inmost religious faith. The solidity of Chinese architecture in such contrast to the Japanese is quite an independent expression of the racial character of the people, in which none of the existing religious beliefs had share. So with the flimsiness of Japanese buildings, we are unable to trace any specific relation between this fact and the Buddhist doctrine of impermanency.

Some critics, referring to Christianity as teaching the immortality of an individual, personal soul, the conception of which forms the basis of Western civilisation, according to their view, in its moral and material phases, are disposed to regard Christianity as efficiently contributing to the solidity and permanency of its arts and public works. But unfortunately they forget that Christianity was also once as monastic and world-flying as Buddhism, and that for the sake of a future life, the Christians make light of the present. It is true that Buddhism teaches *Anatman*, the non-ego theory, but this is quite a complex idea and it takes a great intellectual mind to comprehend it fully; to all practical purposes, the Buddhist doctrine of karma, that is, its perpetual working in the life of an individual or a nation has supplanted that of

non-ego. When Kusunoki Masashige said that he would strive to destroy the Imperial enemy by coming back on earth for seven generations, he asserted the Buddhist idea of the continuance of his personal soul or karmaic force through many a life. It does not matter whether he actually uttered these words or not. The idea is there, and its truth is recognised by all Japanese, probably in most cases implicitly. Buddhism teaches immortality and personal continuity in karmaic or dynamic terms and not always in the psychological. If the Japanese had really followed Buddhism or rightly comprehended it, there would have been no amassing of personal property, no aggrandisement of power political or national, and no murdering, no killing of animals, no cruelty to the helpless, would have prevailed in this country. It will be interesting however for our readers to know that in those localities in Japan where Buddhism wields its influence most, murders, especially cruel ones, are far less frequently committed than in other regions. Still we may contend that environment has a great deal to do with the moulding of character. To a certain extent this is true, and we may say that if Christianity had influenced the Western people in their moral and spiritual development, the racial characteristics of the people themselves have shared much in shaping their own religion in the form as we have it now. If Christianity had grown among the Eastern peoples, it could not have been the same Christianity as the present one. The same can be affirmed of any other religion perhaps with some reservation.

In one sense we may say that all that is worth while in Japanese civilisation is traceable to the influence of Buddhism. Look at those imposing temples, towers, treasure-houses, and statues of various kinds to be found throughout Japan; are they not some of the solidest and most permanent productions of art we can well be proud of? Take Buddhism away from our history, and what have we left in it? All branches of

art, painting, music, sculpture, architecture, and literature, even in its lighter form, owe their existence to Buddhism; how then about agriculture, communication, medicine, and philosophy? Especially about the last mentioned, we could never have acquired such a degree of intellectual acuteness or preparedness as displayed by modern thinkers of Japan.

There are many nations in Europe and in America all embracing the religion of Jesus Christ, but do they manifest the same quality of culture or civilisation in regard to the idea of permanency? When we want to trace the effects of a particular thing, or force, or event, in history or nature, we must first eliminate all such factors as are circumstantial and not directly and essentially concerned with the main issue, and single out just that one thing which would recur under varying conditions and throughout successive changes. This is the scientific way of determining the work of an idea or force. Of course in history this method of determination will be found hard to apply, as we cannot resort to experiment as in the laboratory. What we can do in this case is a comparative study of the histories of different nations of the world. Until this is thoroughly done, we better refrain from jumping to a hasty conclusion.

In our view, the various exhibitions by the Japanese of what critics think as come from the Buddhist idea of impermanency owe their origin largely to the racial character of the people themselves. Shintoism as a national cult and not as a religion consciously teaching a certain set of dogmas, reflects the most fundamental in the ideals of the people, which is the love of cleanliness and simplicity. Plain wood is used for a Shinto shrine, which is periodically reconstructed even before it wears out. The *nusa* is made of paper, and the *sambo* is a flimsy structure of thin board, and neither of them embodies the idea of solidity and permanency. The divine tablet is to be renewed every year. The Japanese ideal of



cleanliness and simplicity naturally leads to the frequent renewal of things we use at home or in public. This cannot be carried out easily unless they are constructed simple, which means in most cases temporariness, superficiality, destructibility, and other cognate ideas all implying lack of steadiness and permanency. Its degenerate form nowadays appears in the muddy streets, leaking gas or water pipes, defective electric fixtures, tottering public buildings, rickety street-cars, etc. Perhaps the abolition of feudalism which was somewhat a permanent institution in the past, caused at least a temporal derangement in the minds of the people, socially, economically, and morally; and they have not yet fully acquired the habit of adjustment when the onrush of Western civilisation in its material garb completely upset the Japanese equilibrium of mind. We are now thus witnessing the worst side of Japanese character manifested in its hideousness.

The worst thing is that Buddhism itself is sharing in this general downward movement of spiritual culture. The state protection during the feudal days had almost completely undermined the original spirit of Buddhism, and when the new régime deprived it of all the material advantages it had been enjoying, the last stroke was dealt to it. While there are at present some signs of its gradual resuscitation not only in its purely personal aspect but in its social and institutional aspect, we are still surrounded by so many instances of corruption and inanity. The weight of historical inertia works both ways good and bad; the bad is to be minimised and the good encouraged to grow nobler and stronger.

We are now standing at a crossway of civilisation and unless we reconstruct our life this modern society may ere long be singing its own dirge over the ruinous confusion of its past achievements. The late world-war most conclusively proved that the life we had been leading was entirely on the

wrong track, though perhaps we could not do any differently, seeing that we are what we are; but it is high time we may learn a weighty lesson from all the tribulations we have gone through. The lesson is that we have quite neglected the spiritual side of life while loudly talking about it, and that we have laid too much value on the commercial side of our work and labour. Revaluation is what we now need in every department of life. Let not money, or merit, or efficiency, or power, or comfort be the standard of valuation; but let us have Carlyle's "silent men," who "go two miles with him who shall compel you to go a mile," or those "simple-minded sages who try to fill up an old well with loads of snow," as Buddhists would say.

When Friar Juniper was asked by a poor little woman for alms, he stripped the sumptuously decorated altar of its hanging silver bells, saying, "There are a superfluity," and gave them to her without a second thought. When he was reprimanded by his brother monk, he said. "Be not troubled about these bells, for I have given them to a poor woman that had very great need of them, and here they are of no use, save that they made a show of worldly pomp." Is this not fine? We have so many beautiful temples or cathedrals most ornately adorned, but are they really anything more than a show of worldly pomp even now? The faith that once animated them is dead, they are nothing but monuments of art to be admired by art critics and to be wondered at by those money-makers who privately estimate the cost of labour put to them. Unless we get more of the spirit of Friar Juniper than of the worldly show of the architecture, we shall never be able to build a new spiritual temple in which we are to live a new life after so many years of greed and selfishness.

We have so many, in fact too many, temples and shrines here for the adoration of the personified Prajñāpāramitā as the

highest being of love and truth, but those that are taking charge of them are no more guardians of things holy and sanctifying, they are mere janitors, even dishonest and unreliable and self-seeking and desecrating janitors. In them there is no light that will illumine the darkness of the world, the light that made possible to create such beautiful works of art and worship is vanished, the dark shadow alone is left behind. By the light I mean the spirit of mutual help quietly and silently executed, and by the shadow I mean the asserting of egotism in a clamorous and ostentatious manner. When one does something good or seemingly good, he wants to announce it loudly from an eminence. It may not be necessary to keep good things purposely under a bushel, but publicity, one of the characteristics of modern life, either for good or bad, is to be shunned. Perhaps we have to go even beyond all such considerations as publicity and obscurity, good and evil, light and darkness. For even those who, thinking of the reward of their Father which is in heaven, take heed not to give alms before men, are not quite the most beloved of the children of God. When your left hand knoweth not what your right hand doeth, what room is left in your mind to think of the reward or merit of your doings anywhere, whether in heaven or in hell? When a heart is devoid of all consciousness of gain or loss, or when as Buddhists say, a heart abiding in Emptiness (*śūnyatā*) moves along bathed in the Rays of Eternal Light, Amitābha Buddha, it works miracles. So long as reward is in your sight or merit is thought of, your deeds however good or beneficent, in their relation to the world at large, are doomed, have no religious value whatever, are tainted with the consciousness of *meum et teum*, which is known by Buddhists as *Samskritācitta* and considered worthless from the transcendental point of view of the highest enlightenment.

When Bodhi-Dharma first interviewed the Emperor of

Liang, the latter asked him, "I have so many temples built and so many monks ordained; what do you think my merit could be?" Answered Dharma shortly, "No merit whatever, sire." The Emperor was one of the most devoted Buddhists in China and himself led an ascetic life of monkhood. He did much towards the spread of Buddhism in Southern China in its early days. But this, according to the First Patriarch of Zen Buddhism in China, was not a meritorious deed. Why? Because if the Emperor were a real Buddhist, he would never have asked Dharma about the religious value of his work. His right hand craved so much to know of the doings of his left. He was not a "silent man" of Carlyle.

When everything is to be computed in some way, we cannot have a real spiritual life. The worse comes to the worst when this computation is commercial, when we have to talk so much about the economic equivalence of our work. As long as we have to keep up this way of judging things, we shall never have the spiritual significance of life fully realised.

## NOTES

THE educational authorities are reported to be considering how best to preserve the wooden blocks over 60,000 in number and now worth many million yen, that were once used for printing the Buddhist Tripitaka known as the Obaku edition (黄蘗版). Some of the blocks are badly worn out and require renovation, but most of them are still usable for printing, and in fact prints are taken from them even now. They are stored at present in one of the sub-temples called Hozoin in the grounds of the Obaku monastery, Uji. There is an inspiring story in connection with this Tripitaka edition. When Yingen (隱元) came over from China to Japan in 1655 with a copy of the Tripitaka known as the Ming Edition. Tetsugen (鐵眼), a monk belonging to the Obaku Branch of Zen, conceived an idea to make a reprint of this edition so that the Buddhist monasteries might be supplied readily and inexpensively with the holy literature. This was such a gigantic undertaking, but nothing daunted the monk who was determined at any cost to carry out his plans. He is said to have been standing every day by the Gojo bridge, Kyoto, which was then the most popular thoroughfare in the capital. He begged every passer-by for a contribution, and when after some years he was able to have enough funds for the work, there was a famine in all the surrounding provinces, and he without hesitation gave all his money to relieve the hungry and dying. He started for a second time to raise the funds and after some time he had again enough when another famine broke out in his own locality, and all the money was gone again. But he was not to be put down and for a third time he stood by the Gojo bridge to collect the neces-

sary means for his unprecedented task. He was finally rewarded for his persistence and determination. While the Ming Edition is not the best to model after, it was due to the untiring efforts of Tetsugen that Japan was able to have a Tripitaka of her own manufacture. Those pointing blocks of wood still preserved at the Obaku monastery are one of the monuments of Buddhist culture in Japan, of which we may well be proud. In this respect we must not forget that Korea stands a great rival to this country, for in the Hermit Land too the ancient wooden blocks from which the renowned Korean Edition of the Tripitaka were printed in 1237-1251 are still kept in good condition at Kai-in-ji. The number of the blocks is 81,258, which will make 6,791 printed fasciculi of the Korean Edition. These were the halcyon days of Korean Buddhism. Several years ago when the late Count Terauchi was Governor-General of Korea, he had three copies of the whole edition printed from these ancient wooden blocks.

Professor Taiye Kaneko, of Otani University, refers in one of his recent articles published in the *Chyugwai Nippo* to the mission of Japanese Buddhist scholars. He thinks that the study of the Sanskrit and Pali literature of Buddhism compels us to abandon our old position, and we have to adopt a new way of dealing with the Buddhist sutras all of which have heretofore been regarded as records of the Buddha's own teaching. The old attitude made the Buddhist philosophers devise some ingenious systems of reconciling various and often apparently contradicting teachings of the master. This avails no more, and we have now come to make a distinction between the Buddhism considered historically primitive and the Buddhism constructed in accordance with the fundamental experiences of our religious consciousness throughout its successive stages of development. We must now not only study Buddhism with a view to determine its primitive form,

but also metaphysically to find out what are its fundamental conceptions which constitute the essence of Buddhism in all its forms of expression. Secondly the writer takes it as one of the most important duties of Japanese scholars to bridge the seeming gap between doctrines of self-enlightenment and salvation. The doctrine of self-enlightenment is espoused by such sects as Tendai, Zen, Kegon, Shingon, and others, while to the salvation group belong all the Pure Land sects. Historically this distinction is made between the "self-power" and the "other-power" doctrine. According to Prof. Kaneko, these cannot remain as fundamentally antagonistic and mutually excluding systems. Thirdly, philosophically considered, two schools may be distinguished in Buddhism, psychological and logical. The Yogacarya is the former and the Madhyamika the latter. These two must be systematically formulated. In short, these are some of the most significant problems set before Japanese Buddhist scholars for solution.

On the twenty-ninth of August, according to the *Tokyo Asahi*, a monument dedicated to the spirits of morning glories was unveiled at a Buddhist temple in Shiba, Tokyo. The ceremony was solemnly conducted by the priests, and there were many people who took part in the affair. The motive was to console the spirits of such morning glories that were made victims in the cultivation of superior grades of the flower. There is a horticultural society in Tokyo with a large list of members, whose business is to raise the best specimen of morning glories, which will be exhibited at an annual show for a prize. To attain this object, so many of the plants not promising enough for the competition are thrown away and left to their own fate. The members who felt pity on those sacrificed for the sake of the better ones, thought of erecting a monument for the pacification of their souls that may be hovering over the earth lamenting their cruel destiny

at the hands of human beings. There was a woman-poet in the province of Kaga, not very long ago, who one morning found a morning glory entwined around a rope in the well when she was about to draw some fresh water; she was too tender-hearted to wrench the blooming vine off the rope and went out to a next-door neighbour for the water and composed the following *Hokku* ;

“By the morning glory  
The bucket being taken away,  
I begged for water.”

Every living being has the right to exist, and if not for the caprice of those fancy-growers of the flower, all those morning glories picked out and thrown away by them may be still blooming in their humble way and decorating the earth after the fashion of the Biblical lilies. It is a great pity that so many soldiers' bones are to mould before one general's fame is established. Let us hope with Mr Suiyin Yemi, a noted novelist of the day, who composed the words of dedication on the monument and prayed that “those morning glories through the merit of their self-sacrificing deed may bloom in heaven ever more gloriously than on earth.”

The Japanese have been erecting monuments all the time for all kinds of living beings, for plants, for human beings, no matter what they are, friends or enemies. Whenever and for whatever reason lives were destroyed, the people were sorry for them and took steps to console their spirits by performing Buddhist rituals. Those medical subjects who provided material for scientific research, be they animals or human beings, are sure to be thus consoled some day by the doctors and Buddhist priests. The noted *Mimi-dzuka* (ear-mound) in Kyoto is dedicated to the souls of the Koreans who fell in the great Japanese campaign against Korea under Hideyoshi over three hundred years ago. We read lately in the paper about some foreign visitors to Kyoto who took the mound for a memorial stone somewhat



inhumanly recording a military achievement of the past. But they were mistaken in this. The idea of building this tomb was the same that will raise a monument for the unfortunate morning glories or that will perform some consoling rituals for the animals and human beings made subjects of medical experiments. We must not then forget that even painters' worn-out brushes are remembered in a similar fashion.

Recently, we are informed of another instance of a like nature performed by the manufacturers of a popular rat-poison, who will have an annual Buddhist ceremony for the souls of the rats who unwisely ate the poison. It is really astonishing to see how deeply at least in this particular respect the Buddhist idea of not killing living things has entered into popular minds.

*The Osaka Mainichi*, an influential daily in Osaka, inaugurated a series of lectures on various subjects relative to general culture, one of which series was on Buddhism by Reverend Sonyu Otani, Acting Abbot of Western Hongwanji. It is reported that the Mainichi auditorium was overcrowded, showing a revival of popular interest in Buddhism. In Kyoto we have now a Buddhist hall built in the modern style and not after the old pattern of Buddhist architecture. Mr Gendo Yamaguchi, a devoted Buddhist, is the patron of the new building which is named after him. This is quite an innovation among so many of the temples, shrines, and monasteries, which are de facto making up the old city of Kyoto. Time may come, let us so hope, earlier than we have been thinking, when Japanese Buddhism throws off its sombre garment smelling of age and dust and puts on a new one cleansed of all its past accumulation and fit for its founder. The past is to be respected for what it has done, but it ought not to linger too long.

The Tōhoku (North-eastern) Imperial University in Sendai has established a new department to be known as "Department of Law and Literature," which is a novel attempt on the part of the institution. The object, we are told, is to give the students a training in both juridical sciences and those belonging to culture. This is to a certain extent a revival of old liberal education, which included all knowledge relating to human life generally. The division sharply made between law and literature as in the other Imperial universities has produced minds, they think, too one-sided and prejudiced, in which too much technicality checks the romantic flow of imaginative powers. It is noteworthy that the authorities have created in this department a special chair for Indian philosophy.

Professor Soothill, of Oxford, according to a newspaper report, seems to have made remarks at the modern Churchmen's Conference which recently took place at Oxford, to the following effect, that religious rivalry in the Far East will be between Christianity and Buddhism, that some of the Buddhist ideas are already at work in the West, and that eventually the best men of the two world-religions may come to cooperate for the salvation of the world through love. Unless one is so prejudiced as to think that everything good and noble and holy is concentrated in essence in one religion only while all the other existing ones are doomed and their followers are "heathens" or "tirthakas" (外道), every judiciously minded person believes in a mutual assimilation and their harmonious cooperation in the work of moral and spiritual enlightenment. Such movements as initiated by Professor Otto, of Marburg, and his friends, under the name of the "Religious Union of Mankind" will come to be organised all over the world and bring about some tangible and practical reformations not only in our individual and national lives but in our international

and racial relations. Evil in all its multifarious forms issues from the wrong interpretation of the ego-idea, which however is the strongest citadel to be seized by religion. Racial prejudice working so much mischief in our lives is one of the hideous forms of egotism, which can only be destroyed by the sanctifying idea of the brotherhood of mankind and the fatherhood of one God. Whatever activities we may Manifest politically and economically for the improvement and ennoblement of human conditions, they must all be based on facts of our spiritual life; otherwise one good gained is sure to be counterbalanced by a new evil unexpectedly growing somewhere.

We are in receipt from Mr Albert J. Edmunds, M. A., of Philadelphia, of the following two works: *Catechism for a Young Christian*, and *Buddhist and Christian Gospels* (fourth edition). The last-mentioned is a revision much enlarged of the Tokyo edition which was published some years ago in cooperation with Professor Anesaki. Of this, however, we will write further later on; here we wish to review the *Catechism*. It is not bound in book-form, but made up in loose cards, eighteen in number and about  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  inches in size. The author's individuality looms up in every line, who is first of all a devout Christian, that is, a Quaker, Swedenborgian, and a great sympathiser of Buddhism. It was he who initiated the present writer to the study of Swedenborgian mysticism. As his other work attests, he is most learned in the Pali literature of Buddhism. The contents of the *Catechism* are: Sacrifice and Prayer, Christ, Conduct, Golden Rule, Evil, Salvation, Fate and Free Will, Sacraments, Holy Scripture and the Christian Old Testament, Human Food, the Jews and Their Prophets, Martyrs, Buddha, Christ and Buddha. In the preface, says the author, "It is the result of half a century of study and thought upon the great problems of Religion.... It is the small contribution of one human lifetime towards the

establishment of a World-Religion." Let us see what he thinks of the Buddha: He was "the great prophet of the Hindus . . . .He forbade anger, and taught love to enemies and the Golden Rule five hundred years before Christ. He taught his disciples to use their minds by sending out thoughts of love to all men and to the different kinds of animals." What do the Holy Scriptures of the Buddhists teach about the man who sends out loving thoughts? The author quotes from the *Book of Elevens* :

"He sleeps in peace and wakes in peace,  
He dreams no evil dream;  
He is dear unto mortals and immortals,  
The angels watch over him;  
Fire, poison, sword can harm him not:  
Quickly his heart is calmed;  
The look on his face is peaceful,  
And he is not afraid to die."

Further, Buddha forbade five hurtful trades; traffic in arms, the slave-trade, butchery, liquor-dealing, and poisons. (*Book of Fives*.) Finally the author thinks Buddha was great because "he was the first to found an international religion, that is, one for all mankind." But Christ was greater than Buddha because Christ was "the first religious Captain to come back after death, and make us feel sure that we have a heaven to go to;" moreover, he "appeals to us children as a living power. He said: Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. Raise the stone, and there thou shalt find me; cleave the wood, and there am I." As to the distribution of the *Catechism*, "Whoever will send me [the author] a hand-written copy of his-her two favorite cards, giving the order of preference and adding name, address and occupation, he-she shall have a complete set free, so long as the initial five hundred cards hold out. To friends disposed to help the work materially the price per

set of eighteen cards is one dollar." The author's address is Cheltenham, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.

Some of the Chinese Buddhists are trying to revive the Mantra Sect (Shingon-Shu) in their own country where it vanished early in the Ming dynasty. Professor Chang of Peking University was here to acquire actual knowledge of the sect, and now we learn of Reverend Taiyu, of Seibonji temple, going up to Kōyasan, which is one of the headquarters of the Shin gon in Japan. He will stay there for a while to study the practical and ritualistic side of the mysticism. As to its doctrinal and theoretical side, scholars may have enough knowledge of it through the sutras and commentaries, but there are so many esoteric teachings in it which are only orally transmitted and therefore must be individually grasped. There is in China an association known as the Eleven-faced, which is composed of eleven members all earnest students of the Shingon.

Corrigenda in the article on "Hōnen Shōnin and the Jōdo Ideal" in the last number of the present magazine (Vol. I. Numbers 5 and 6) are:

P. 326, line 5 from bottom: read *Kigyō* (起行) for *Kigo* (起業);

P. 327, line 5: read *Kigyō* for *Kigo*;

P. 328, line 6: read *Kigyō* for *Kigo*.

To our great regret, the present issue has been delayed and we have again a double number for May-June, and July-August. In consequence of the continuing unfavourable circumstances, the September-October number too will appear as a double one in combination with the November-December one, early in the coming winter. If everything goes on without any further obstructions as we are planning now, the next year will see us placed on a better footing. We hope that readers will be patient with us in our struggle against odds.

## REVIEWS

THE MESSAGE OF THE EAST (May, '21, December '21, January, May, June, July, '22) is a monthly magazine issued by the Vedanta Centre of Boston, Massachusetts, U. S. A. In each number is a lecture by Swami Paramananda and besides other articles are short reprints from famous mystics and saints such as Ruysbroeck, Molinos, St. John of the Cross, John Tauler, Chwang-tze, etc. In two of these numbers are extracts from the teaching of the Buddha, one upon the Dharma, and the other upon the joy of self-conquest, and another on Vedanta and Buddhism by Sister Daya. She says: "Buddha never sought to found a new religion. What he did seek was to *be* that about which others argued; to prove the reality of the old ideals by living them. He destroyed nothing but misconception. Far from being dreamy or negative, the whole purpose of his teaching was intensely practical. Speculation he forbade. 'Cease speculation,' he urged; 'become the thing and you will know. Here is the Way, here is the Path laid down for your treading centuries ago. Follow that; nothing else is needful. And every word was backed by his great life. There could be and there was no separation between this life and the age-old ideals which nurtured it, between Vedanta and Buddhism. They were related as the thought and the word. Lord Buddha was the living proof of Vedanta, a justification of India's spiritual life, the Gita and the Upanishads made manifest." In the June number is a little scene called "Buddha the Compassionate," a dramatic adaptation of "The Light of Asia" by Georgina Jones Walton now known as Sister Daya. This selection is the swan scene where the youthful Buddha saves the hunted swan. It is a graphic depiction of the Buddha's compassionate heart for all living

creatures including the animals. In the May number is a lecture by the Swami, "The Value of Food in Spiritual Unfoldment," a plea for a non-meat diet. The July number has several articles of interest on the subject of Re-incarnation. Readers who like Oriental thought would be well to subscribe to this magazine.

THE ISLAMIC REVIEW (June to October, '21, January, March, April, May, July August-September, '22), a monthly magazine published in London, edited by Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din. This magazine as its name implies is devoted to the teachings of Muhammad. It is a well-printed periodical containing many interesting articles and giving in each number an account of Muhammadan activities in England. The Muhammadans in England support a mosque where sermons and lectures are given on Islam, festivals held, and with a publication office of magazine and books. Articles which are particularly interesting in this Review are: "The Five Principles of Islam and Their Significance," by Maulvi Mustafakhan in the June-July number; "The Qur-an and Buddha," by Dr K. Md Ariff, of Penang, is in the same number. "Studies in Islamic Poetry," by Arther Field, a review of Professor Nicholson's book of the same title is of interest. In the May number, 1922, is a brief article on "What is Islam?" which is quite illuminating, it explains in a simple way the faith of Islam and its teachings.

LA REVUE SPIRITE (February, March, May, 1922) published in Paris, edited by Leon Meyer, founded by Allan Kardec in 1858; a journal devoted to psychology and experimental spiritualism. There are articles by noted psychical research writers such as Camile Flammarion, Leon Denis, by the editor, and others. Some of the subjects treated of are: "Spiritism in Art," "The Supporters of the Subconscious," "The Rehabilitation of Spiritualism." The May number contains an account of the anniversary of Allan Kardec on

the second of April. Besides the articles there are reviews of books and of magazines, accounts of spiritualistic meetings and activities. It is an attractive magazine for French readers who are interested in the subject of spiritualism and psychical reasearch.

RAYS FROM THE ROSE CROSS (July '21 to January '22), organ of the Rosicrucian Fellowship, published by the Rosicrucian Fellowship, Oceanside, California, U. S. A., edited by Mrs Max Heindel. The editor is the widow of Max Heindel, who was the founder of the Rosicrucian Society in America, author of *The Rosicrucian Cosmo-conception*. The magazine is an exposition of the Rosicrucian teachings. Attractive articles are "Meat and Drink as Factors in Evolution" by Max Heindel; "The Mysterium Magnum of the Rose Cross," also by Max Heindel; "The Destiny of the Coloured Man," written by Sydney H. French, evidently a coloured man himself; "Your Aura, What Colour is It?" by Elizabeth Preston. Considerable attention is given to the subject of astrology; there is also a children's department, containing stories for children, a department on nutrition and health, and a healing circle.

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH, New York, (August '21 to May '22). This monthly publication is the organ of the American Society for Psychical Research, Section B. of the American Institute for Scientific Research. Among the general articles are "Peculiar Experiences Connected with Noted Persons," edited by Walter F. Prince; "Psychic Phenomena in Greco-Roman Times," by James H. Hyslop; "Gregory the Great as a Psychical Researcher," by Albert J. Edmunds; "The First International Congress on Psychical Research," by the editor, Walter F. Prince; "Spiritualism and the New Psychology," also by the editor; "Psychical Research in the Letters of William James," by Miles Menander Dawson;



Psychic Phenomena and the Physician," by E. Pierre Mallelt. There is a department for book reviews. Persons interested in psychical research will find this magazine of great value in its special field.

THEOSOPHY IN AUSTRALIA (November '21 to July, 1922), published in Sydney, N. S. W., organ of the Theosophical Society in Australia. This monthly magazine contains articles of interest to theosophists, and accounts of theosophical activities, and questions and answers on theosophical teachings. Of special value, we have noted a series of articles on Buddhism by F. L. Woodward and a series on Reincarnation by H. H. Hungerford. The number for June contains an article by the editor on "Buddhism in Japan" which is really a review of our magazine *The Eastern Buddhist*. We are grateful for the words of praise and appreciation and hope that many theosophists may find something of help and interest in our endeavour.

THE VEDIC MAGAZINE AND GURUKULA SAMACHAR (Sept., '21, Jan., Feb., April, '22) published at Lahore, India, edited by Prof. Rawa Deva, prints articles in regard to India and Indians.. Interesting articles to be noted are: "The Political Condition of India as Described by the Chinese Traveller Fa-Hien;" "Is Monism the Teaching of the Upanishads?" "The Caste System"; "A New Theory of Man and His Tongue;" "Beyond Philosophy, a Peep into Transcendent"; "An Exposition of Yoga." There is a department of book reviews and editorials on contemporary thought. Students of things Indian will be enlightened by reading this magazine.

THE THEOSOPHICAL PATH (July, December, 1921, February, March, April, May, 1922), edited by Katherine Tingley, international magazine, published by the International Theosophical Headquarters, Point Loma, California, U. S. A. Beautifully printed and illustrated, published by the Theoso-

phical Society of which Mrs Tingley is the head, not connected with the society represented by other theosophical magazines, of which Mrs Besant is the leader. This society is called the Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society. The magazine claims to be unsectarian and non-political and is more a literary magazine with a theosophical point of view than a peiodical of theosophical teachings, although it contains a number of articles on theosophy. In the numbers which the editors have received, they notice of special significance the following: "The Power and Possibilities of Thought Control," "Reincarnation," "The Law of Karma," "Art from a Theosophical Standpoint," "Resurrection," "Did the Americans come from Asia?" The Screen of Time giving account of theosophical activities especially those of the Raja-Yoga College for young people is of much interest. The illustrations showing views from all over the world and of the Theosophical Headquarters and Raja-Yoga College at Point Loma are of great beauty.

RE-INCARNATION (Sept., 1920 to May, '22), official organ of the Karma and Re-incarnation Legion, published in Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A., edited by Weller Van Hook and C. Shuddemagen. The purpose of the Legion and of the magazine is to popularise the teachings of karma and re-incarnation. The headquarters are in Chicago and there are groups all over the world in many cities and towns of the United States as well as in Holland, Italy, South Africa, South America, Norway, and even faraway Iceland. The articles are all upon the subject of karma and reincarnation, or closely connected with these subjects and some of them are exceedingly interesting and helpful. The May number has a review of the *Eastern Buddhist* and has quoted at length from the article by Sensho Murakami on Mahāyana Buddhism.

DIVINE LIFE (Sept., Oct., Nov., 21, Jan., Feb., '22), Devoted to Theosophy, published monthly by Celestia Root Lang,

president of the Independent Theosophical Society of America. Articles on theosophy chiefly written by the editor, differing somewhat in standpoint from the teachings of the well-known theosophical society of which Mrs Annie Besant is the President. There is also a serial study of life in the spiritual world by Mrs Lang.

THE ESOTERIST is an eight leaflet issued by the Esoteric Brotherhood, Washington, D. C., U. S. A. It is edited by Agnes Marsland., and contains passages selected from the writings of great religious leaders and from those of the editor and each issue contains a poem. The extracts are given with the idea that study or meditation upon them will increase spiritual growth. One of them contains an exposition of the Buddhist Eightfold Path.

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY, published at Bangalore, India, the transactions of the Mythic Society. This is an attractive magazine, devoted to the study of the science, archeology, ethnology, history, religions, and allied subjects of India, more particularly in Mysore and Southern India. Two numbers have been received. The April, 1921, number contains an article on the birth-place of the Buddha by the president of the Society, the Reverend A. M. Tabard. The frontispiece to this number is a Tunha or sacred banner from a Buddhist temple in Nepal. Buddha sits enshrined upon a pedestal in meditative posture, holding a jewel in one hand. Below him and around him are Bodhisattvas. In the January, 1922, number we find "The Influence of Oriental Literature in the West," by Dr Walter Eugene Clark; "Primitive Religion in Mysore," by C. Hayavadana Rao; "Ancient Hindu Education," "The Age of the Brahmanas." There are also departments for notes correspondence, reviews, etc. Students of India and Indian things will find much to please them in this magazine.

THE QUEST (January, 1922, April, 1922), a quarterly

review published by John M. Watkins, London, edited by G. R. Mead. This is a magazine for the investigation and comparative study of religion, philosophy, and science. "It desires to promote enquiry into the nature of religious and other supernatural experiences and the means of testing their value, to strengthen the love of wisdom which stimulates all efforts to formulate a practical philosophy of life, and to emphasise the need of a vital science to crown and complete the discoveries of physical research." In the January number, V. C. MacMunn writes of "Mysticism and the Organic Sense." In the April number, Mrs Rhys Davids has a long article interesting to students of Buddhism on "The Buddhist Doctrine of Re-birth." Also in the April number, there is a fascinating article on "Hasidica: Stories and Sayings of the Ba'al Shem," and others. "Tree Felling," by W. J. Ferrar, greatly appealed to this reviewer. The reviews of books are thoughtful and illuminating. In this department of the January number appeared a short but appreciative notice of *The Eastern Buddhist*.  
B. L. S.

Other magazines received which will be reviewed later :  
OCCULT REVIEW, London, (May to September, 1922).

THE JOURNAL OF RELIGION, published by the University  
of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A. (March-July '22)

THE BUDDHIST ANNUAL OF CEYLON, Colombo, India :  
Volume III.

THE HERALD OF ASIA, Tokyo. (August 1921 to September, 1922.)

O THEOSOPHISTA, Official Organ of the Theosophical Society  
in Brazil, Rio de Janeiro : (February to May, 1922.)

TEOSOFIA EN EL PLATA, Official Organ of the Theosophical  
Society in the Argentine, Buenos Aires : (April, 1922.)

PAPYRUS, Official Organ of the Theosophical Society of  
Egypt, Cairo, Egypt : (March, June, 1922.)

**MESSINGER**, Organ of the Theosophical Society in America  
Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.: (April to September, 1922.)

**THE EPOCH AND THE LIGHT OF REASON**, Ilfracombe,  
England. (March to June, 1922.)

**VEDANDA KESARI**, Madras, India. (February to June,  
1922.)

**THE KALPAKA**, Tinnevely, India. (March to August, 1922.)

**THE MAHA-BODHI AND THE UNITED BUDDHIST  
WORLD**, Calcutta, India. (May, June, July, 1922.)

**PRABUDDHA BHARATA**, or **AWAKENED INDIA**, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas. (May, June, 1922.)

**THE HINDU MESSAGE**, a weekly review of Indian and  
world problems from the Hindu standpoint, Srirangam,  
India: (July 27, August 3, 10, 1922.)

**THE STANDARD BEARER**, under the inspiration of Sri  
Aurobindo Ghose, Chandernagore, India. (May 1, 8, 1922.)

**SELF-CULTURE**, Organ of the Self-Culture University, Kizhanattam, Tinnevely Dist., India. (December '21 Feb.,  
March, 1922.)

**REALITY**, the Bahai magazine, New York, U. S. A. (June,  
July, August, 1922.)

**THE HARMONIAL THINKER**, a quarterly magazine, published by the Harmonial Publishers, San Diego, California, U. S. A.: (Second quarter, Third quarter, 1922.)

**ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR BUDDHISMUS**, München-Freiburg,  
Germany:: (April-June, 1922.)

**SAMSKRITA BHARATI**, a quarterly Anglo-Sanskrit magazine of literature, science, and art, Burdwan, Bengal, India. (January-March, 1922.)

**LA ROSE CROIX**, organe de la Société Alchimique de France, Paris, France. (June, July, August September, 1922.)

**NEU-BUDDHISTISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT**, published by the  
Neu-buddhistische Verlag Zehlendorf West bei Berlin,  
Germany. (Frühjahrsheft, 1922.)

BULLETIN DE L'ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE DES AMS  
DE L'ORIENT, Paris. December, 1922.

PROBLEMEROGIRDEN, published by the Danish Theosophical Society at Copenhagen. (January, April, 1922.)

ALLE FONTI DELLE RELIGION RIVISTA DI STORIA  
E LITTERATURA RELIGIOSE, edited by Guiseppe  
Tucci, Rome, Italy : (April, 1922.)

LOGOS, internationale Zeitschrift für Philosophie der Kultur,  
Tubingen, Germany, Band XI, Heft 1.

We also acknowledge the following :

DAS HEILIGE, über das Irrationale in der Idee des got-  
tlichen und sein Verhältniss zum Rationalen, by Rudolf  
Otto. Breslau, 1922.

Six Post Cards, Buddhistischer Plastik aus dem Museum  
für Völkerkunde München, published by Oskar Schloss, Mün-  
chen-Neubiderg, Germany.

LEADING ARTICLES WHICH HAVE APPEARED IN THE PREVIOUS  
ISSUES OF THE EASTERN BUDDHIST :

Volume I.—No. 1. May-June, 1921.

Zen Buddhism as Purifier and Liberator of Life. By Daisetz  
Teitaro Suzuki.

Philosophical Foundation of the Shin Sect. By Gessho Sasaki.  
The Buddha. By Chizen Akanuma.

What is Mahāyāna Buddhism? By Beatrice Lane Suzuki.  
Buddhist Hymns. By Shugaku Yamabe.

Volume I.—No. 2. July-August, 1921.

Mahāyāna Buddhism. By Sensho Murakami.

Buddha in Mahāyāna Buddhism. By Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki.

Amida as Saviour of the Soul. By Shugaku Yamabe.

Bodhisattvas. By Beatrice Lane Suzuki.

Volume I.—No. 3. September-October, 1921.

What is the True Sect of the Pure Land? By Gessho Sasaki.

The Buddha as Preacher. By Chizen Akanuma.

The Revelation of a New Truth in Zen Buddhism. By Daisetz  
Teitaro Suzuki.

The New Buddhist Movement in Germany. By Beatrice  
Lane Suzuki.

Volume I.—No. 4. November-December, 1922.

The First Step Towards the Realisation of World-Peace. By  
Kwoyen Otani.

The Washington Conference from the Buddhist Point of View.  
By Sonyu Otani.

The Possibility of Permanent Peace. By Shinko Mochidsuki.  
Why Do We Fight? By Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki.

Volume I.—Nos. 5 and 6. January-February,

March-April, 1922.

On the Development of Buddhism in India. By Hakuju Uyi.

Hōnen Shōnin and the Jōdo Ideal. By Beatrice Lane Suzuki.

The Way to the Land of Bliss. By Shugaku Yamabe.

Some Aspects of Zen Buddhism. By Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki.

The Blessed One. By L. Adams Beck.

# THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

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## EDITORS

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

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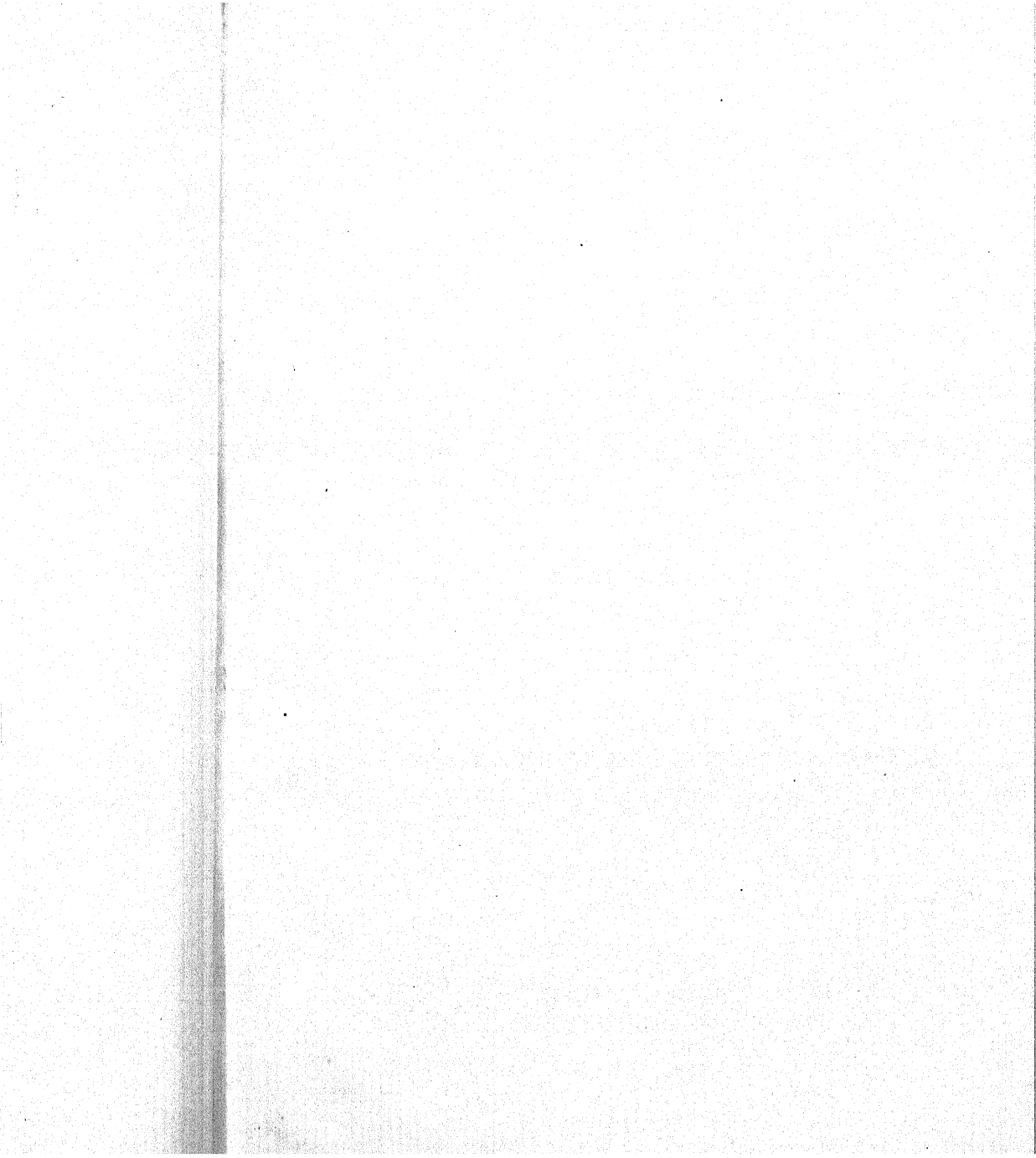
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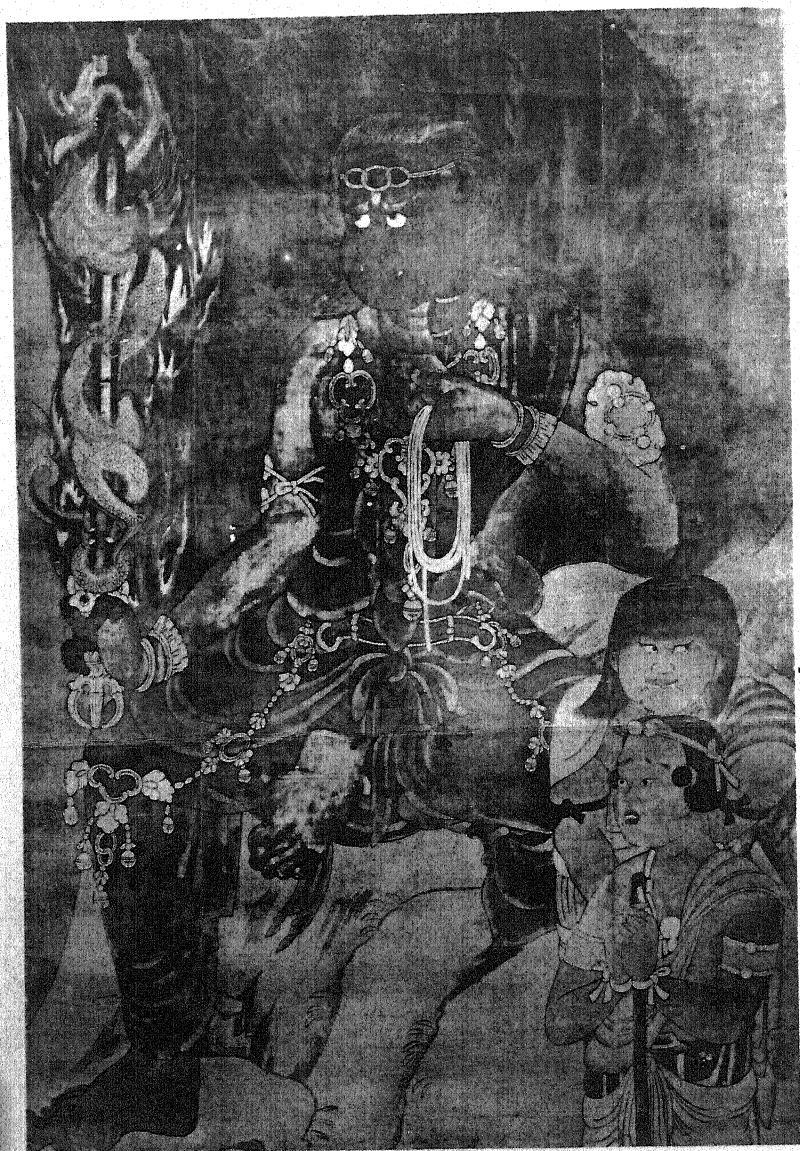
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Men have the same failings as myself; therefore, to search for errors is not proper; nay, it is rather fit to admire virtues when we meet them. It is impossible for me alone to remove this great ocean of my faults; for that I have need of others. Then what leisure have I for others' faults?

—*Śikshā-samuccaya*





# THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

SEPTEMBER—DECEMBER, 1922

## THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SCHOOL OF MAHAYANA BUDDHISM

### I

MAHAYANA Buddhism in India divides itself into two great schools, the Madhyamika (中論) and the Yogācārya (瑜珈). A closer examination of the history of Buddhism may reveal the existence of other thoughts than these two, though they did not develop into independent systems and for this reason were not recognised in India. We read in I-Tsing's *Correspondence from the Southern Seas* (義淨, 南海寄歸傳): "There are two schools only in Mahayana Buddhism, one is the Madhyamika and the other is the Yogācārya. According to the Madhyamika, things are real when they are viewed in the light of the samvritta truth (俗), but they are empty in the light of the paramārtha (真), they are in essence void like vision. According to the Yogācārya, the external world (外, *viśaya*) has no reality, but the inner consciousness (內, *viññāna*) is real, all the particular objects are nothing but the productions of the vijñāna. Both are in accordance with the holy teaching of the Buddha."

The Madhyamika and the Yogācārya are generally contrasted, the former is a philosophy of negation or emptiness while the latter studies consciousness as its special subject of

speculation. The ultimate conclusion of the Madhyamika metaphysics is what is known as the system of Śūnyatā, while for the Yogācārya the Alīyavijñāna is the final reality. If we designate the former as the ontology of Mahayana Buddhism, the latter will be its cosmogony psychologically constructed.

The founder of the Madhyamika school is generally recognised to be Nāgārjuna, whose doctrine was ably supported and brilliantly expounded by Āryadeva. The *Madhyamika-Śāstra* (中論) by Nāgārjuna, the *Śata-Śāstra* (百論) and the *Dvadasanikāya-Śāstra* (十二門論) by Āryadeva, are the principal works of this school. And on account of these three treatises on the Śūnyatā philosophy, the school is known in China and Japan as the "Sect of Three Discourses" (三論宗). The scriptural foundation of this system, Madhyamika, is, according to Chinese Buddhist scholars, the Sūtras of the Prajñāpāramitā class.

The most prominent expositors of the Yogācārya school in India were Asanga and his brother Vasubandhu. The following is a list of the most important textbooks belonging to this school, which exist in Chinese translations, and the mastery of which will be necessary to understand thoroughly the intricacies of the Yogācārya philosophy:

- (1) Avataṃsaka-Sūtra (華嚴經);
- (2) Sandhinirmocana-Sūtra (解深密經);
- (3) Lankāvatāra-Sūtra (楞伽經);
- (4) Yogācārabhūmi-Śāstra (瑜伽師地論), by Maitreya;
- (5) Mahāyānasamparigraha-Śāstra (攝大乘論),  
by Asanga;
- (6) Abhidharmasamyuktasāṅgīti-Śāstra (阿毗達磨雜集論),  
compiled by Sthitāmātī;
- (7) An Exposition of the Sacred Doctrine (顯揚聖教論),  
by Asanga;
- (8) Madhyāntavibhāga-Śāstra, (中邊分別論),  
Commented by Vasubandhu;

## (9) Vijñānamātrasiddhi-Śāstra, (成唯識論),

Compiled by Dharmapāla and others;

In China the Yogācārya school is better known as the Dharmalakṣha (法相宗) or Vijñānamātra (唯識宗) sect, and Hsüan-Ts'ang (玄奘) and his disciple Jiwon (慈恩, Tzu 'Ēn) were the chief agents in the propagation of this philosophy in the Far East.

## II

Before proceeding to explain the important tenets of the Yogācārya school, it may be found desirable to point out those features of the school which are shared to some extent by all the schools of Mahayana Buddhism. These features are enumerated as ten in Asaṅga's *Comprehensive Treatise of Mahayana Buddhism* (攝大乘論).<sup>\*</sup> Some of them are in fact quite peculiar to his own system, but as they generally describe what the Mahayana is as distinguished from the Hinayana, so called, reference to them here will be in this respect illuminating.

The ten features of excellence, according to Asaṅga, then are: Mahayana Buddhism excels (1) in its conception of the Alīyavijñāna as an ultimate reality; (2) in its proper understanding of the objective world as to its real nature; (3) in its absolute idealism; (4) in its method of spiritual discipline whereby the Mahayanists attain to their final realisation of Buddhahood, (by which the author means the exercise of the Six Virtues of Perfection, *Pāramitā*, 六波羅密); (5) in its gradual ascension through the ten stages (*daśabhūmi*) of Bodhisattvahood to the ultimate goal of the Buddhist life; (6)

\* There are three Chinese translations of the text (1) by Buddhāśānta, A. D. 531, (2) Paramārtha, 563, and (3) Hsüan-Ts'ang, 649. The text has commentaries by Vasubandhu and by Wu-sing (無性), which were translated by Hsüan-Ts'ang, Paramārtha, and Dharmagupta. Each translation has its own features, not only in its literary form but in its interpretation of the original text and commentary. I have here chiefly followed Paramārtha.

in its moral precepts in which all the moral rules of good conduct (*sīlam trividham*, 三聚淨戒) are comprised; (7) in the power of meditation (*samādhi*); (8) in the attainment of transcendental knowledge (*prajñā*); (9) in the realisation of a Nirvana called "Abodeless" (*apratisthitanirvāna* 無住處涅槃); and finally (10) in teaching the Triple Body of the Buddha (三身).

Of these ten "Excellent Features" of Mahayana Buddhism, which the Buddha did not disclose in any of the scriptures belonging to the Hinayana, the following three may be fairly considered the most essential teachings of the Yogācārya as distinct from the Madhyamika school:

(1) The classification of knowledge into three forms instead of two, the latter being that of the Madhyamika school;

(2) The hypothesis of the *Alīyavijāna* in and through which this apparent universe is constructed;

(3) A new conception of Nirvana and the notion of the Triple Body of the Buddha.

What makes the Yogācārya philosophy characteristically psychological is the notion of the "Alīya-" or "Ālaya-vijāna." Let us first explain what are the three forms of knowledge or rather the three aspects of reality as distinguished by Asanga and Vasubandhu.

### III

According to Nāgārjuna our knowledge or world-view has two forms: the one is called relative knowledge or conditional truth (*samvṛtisatya*), or as we may term common-sense world-view; and the other is absolute knowledge, or unconditional truth (*paramārthasatya*), or a philosophical construction of experience. While acknowledging this classification, the Yogācārya proposes its own method of dealing with the human understanding. According to the Sandhinirmocana-Sutra, which the Yogācārya philosophers consider to be one of the most au-

thoritative sources of their metaphysics, the three forms of knowledge are (*Parikalpita-lakshana*, 分別性相), *Paratantra-lakshana* (依他性相), and *Parinishpanna-lakshana* (眞實性相).

*Lakshana* (相) generally means in Buddhist literature "sign," "character," "external appearance," "nature," "attribute," etc., and is quite frequently found contrasted to "essence," "substance," "being." It is an objective term, that is, a state of things as it is presented to our senses or understanding. Therefore, properly speaking, *Parikalpita-lakshana* is that aspect of the objective world, which the latter assumes to our contriving senses as influenced by our selfish desire. *Paratantra-lakshana* is the objective world as conceived by the understanding as something depending upon a higher principle and not final in itself. When we come to the *Parinishpanna* we have a true view of the world, or the latter presents itself to us in its "complete" final reality. Thus it may not be correct to translate the three *lakshanas* by three forms of knowledge concerning the external world; for a *lakshana* is an aspect of reality as it takes according to our subjective comprehension of it.

*Parikalpita-lakshana* literally means a "constructed or imagined aspect" of reality and is a world-view based on a wrong assumption that takes falsehood for truth and superficiality for ultimate reality. This assumption does not penetrate into the essential nature of things, but erroneously recognises them as they appear to the senses. As far as our deceptive sensual perception goes, the objective world looks like an ultimate fact, fully confirming our common-sense materialistic world-view. This view, however, is not supported by sound reasoning, for things are not in reality and in truth what they appear. Asanga finds similarity between this kind of knowledge and the vision of a man who erroneously takes a piece of rope for a snake. Both are merely an uncoordi-



nated and unconfirmed perception and are doomed to lead us to a fatal end.

By *Paratantra-lakshana*, which literally means "depending upon another," one recognises the relativity of all existences, depending upon a combination and interaction of causes and conditions. By this knowledge we come to perceive that the phenomenal world is devoid of finality, that it will disappear as soon as its causes and conditions are dissociated, that there is nothing in this relative world which is not subject to an ultimate dissolution, and that as things are thus transcendent and impermanent, to believe in them as real and final is not conducive to the salvation of the soul or to the enlightenment of the mind. To continue the analogy of rope and snake, *Paratantra-lakshana* is compared to the knowledge, of which one comes in possession after a closer inspection of the dreaded object, that the object is really a piece of rope and not a snake. The rope is composed of fibres and as such is not an ultimate reality, which latter is to be sought somewhere else than in things conditioned. When one's mental eye is cleansed of all clouds of ignorance and selfishness, it opens to the true state of being. *Paratantra-lakshana*, therefore, which recognises the unreality of particulars as such, induces us to go farther in order that we may finally come to something absolute and permanent.

*Parinishpanna-lakshana* is perfect or "complete" knowledge. When we come to the perception of an ultimate reality which serenely abides behind the veil of transcendent existence, our knowledge is said to have attained its perfection. We have then "supreme truth" (*Paramārthasatya*), which truly comprehends the suchness of things (*tathatā*, 眞如). Here transcending all forms of conditionality, the truth now illumines all sentient and non-sentient beings. To finish the analogy of rope and snake, the *parinishpanna* is the knowledge by which we come to recognise the real nature of the

rope. The rope is not by itself an ultimate reality, for it is made of flax or straw or cotton. There must be something higher than that, which makes up the *raison d'être* of the existence of the rope as well as its constituent, flax or straw, and the knowledge of which saves us from universal illusion veiling the light of pure intelligence. By the *Parinishpanna* we know that the world in which we live is not final, but it is a manifestation of a higher reality. To reach this final perfection of knowledge, says the Yogācārya, is the object of the teaching of the Buddha.

The one most distinguishing feature of Yogācārya as the psychological school of Mahayana Buddhism is the conception of "Āliyavijñāna", from which originates our experience of multitudinous particulars. This is a very complicated idea and in the following pages I will try to present the Yogācārya's view in a most condensed form as we have in Asanga's *Mahāyānasamparigraha-Śāstra* (攝大乘論). Occasional references will be made to Vasubandhu's commentary on the same and also to his own work known as the *Vijñānamātra-Śāstra* (唯識論).

The *Mahāyānasamparigraha* opens with the proclamation that the text is based on the Mahayana Sutras and proceeds to enumerate the ten points of superiority which the author claims for the Mahayana over its rival school, the Hinayana. As was seen above, the first point of superiority consists in the conception of a fundamental reality, which is designated by the Yogācāryans as "Āliya-vijñāna" or "Ālaya-vijñāna." This was taught by the Buddha in a treatise known as the *Mahāyāna-Abhidharma* which was never translated into Chinese. In one of the Sutras quoted there, the Buddha described the Āliya as "existing from eternity and forming the foundation of all things, and without which no paths are possible, nor is there any attainment of Nirvana. This Vijñāna supports and sustains everything, is a storage where all the germs of exis-

tence are stowed away: therefore it is called *Aliya*. This I preach only to the higher men." Commenting on this, Asanga says: It is called *Aliya* because all living beings and defiled [i.e., particular] objects are therein mysteriously stored in the form of a seed, and also because this *Vijñāna*, being mysteriously stored within all objects, is the *raison d'être* of their existence, and because all sentient beings taking hold of this *Vijñāna* imagine it to be their own ego; therefore, it is called the *Aliya* [which means, according to *Paramārtha*, "not lost," or "not absorbed in"]. He then quotes a stanza from the *Sandhinirmocana*, which reads:

"The *Vijñāna* that bears and sustains is deep and subtle;  
Wherein the seeds of beings eternally flow:  
To the vulgar I preach this not,  
Lest it should be conceived by them as the ego-substance."

This *Vijñāna* is also called *Ādāna* (阿陀那識) because it carries and supports all the physical organs of our being, becoming their substratum as they come into existence. Why? If not carried and supported by this *Vijñāna*, all our physical organs would collapse, be lost and incapable of continuing their activities. Again, the birth of a sentient being would have been impossible if this *Vijñāna* did not gather around itself the *skandhas* (五蘊) and thus call into being the six forms of existence. The reunion and resuscitation of the *skandhas* is only possible by the presence and support of this *Vijñāna*. Therefore, it is called "the *Ādāna*", which literally means "depository" or "receptacle."

The *Aliya* is again called simply *Citta* (心) or soul, but this *Citta* is to be distinguished from *Manas* (意), mind, as the Buddha distinctly speaks of them as two separate notions. *Manas* is essentially at once intelligence and will, and when it reflects on *Citta*, it wrongly imagines the latter to be the ego-substance wherefrom we have the consciousness of Self. In *Manas* itself there is nothing which will suggest the existence

of an ego behind its activities, but owing to the presence of the Aliya or Citta, the intellect or Manas constructs the idea of an ego for its own selfish purposes. Manas then performs a peculiarly double function in our intellectual fields: It perceives an external world through the six senses (*viññānas*, 六識), and at the same time reflects within itself. When it does the latter, it recognises there the presence of a *viññāna* (i. e., the Aliya) which persistently makes itself manifest to Manas. And this is the chamber where hovers "absolute ignorance," ready at any moment to construct a defiled world of particulars. This is the storage where all the seeds of one's former karma are securely preserved waiting for the favourable conditions to germinate.

## V

The Aliya, or Alaya as the later Chinese translators have it, is a magazine which functions depending on the habit-energy of all defiled objects and in which all the seeds of one's karma are systematically stowed away. The original Sanskrit term for "habit-energy" is *vāsanā* which the Chinese translators have rendered by *hsi ch'i*, (習氣), and means the impressions in the Aliya left by external objects as well as by inner activities. And these impressions dwelling in the Aliya quietly wait for an appropriate chance to be awakened from a dormant state and to resume their native functions good or bad or indifferent. In one respect, therefore, this *Viññāna* of all seeds is the actual reason whereby the birth of all defiled objects become possible, but in another respect its own efficiency is derived from the habit-energy which is discharged by multitudinous defiled objects since beginningless time. In other words, the Aliya is at once the cause and the effect of all possible phenomena in the universe, the Aliya is the universe itself.

(In the way of footnote it may be noticed here that by "defiled" the Buddhists do not necessarily mean "immoral,"

"unlawful," or "unrighteous," but rather intellectually, "particular," "individual," "conditional," "relative," and other cognate ideas. Defiled objects or *dharma*s, therefore, are particular existences or individual phenomena not only in the external world but in our inner consciousness. "Dharma" is a very broad and comprehensive term and means many things, and in this case it is almost an equivalent for karma as well as for an individual act; for the objective world with all its concrete, individual realities is no more than the effects of our thought and consequent action, which takes place from our ignorantly defiling the original neutrality or immaculity of the *Aliya-vijnāna*. The Sanskrit term for "defiled" usually is *klišṭa* meaning "troubled" or "afflicted", or *rakta* in the sense of "tinged" or "stained".)

The habit-energy (*vāsaṇa*) latently dwelling in the *Aliya* may be said to be a sort of subtle spiritual substance left behind by every being that thinks and acts: or would it be more appropriate to make it a kind of force which emanates from thought and action and is left behind when they cease to operate? As the odour emitted by a flower remains even after its destruction, so every deed or every existence leaves something in its trail even after its departure or completion. All the mental activities, good or bad, may be destroyed with the destruction of the mind itself, but this habit-energy remains and is invisibly stored in the *Aliya* in the form of a spiritual seed.

The *Aliya* is not a mere aggregation of all these latent seeds, but it keeps them according to its own laws. In a way the *Aliya* and the seeds are two separate things, but in another they are one. They act reciprocally. Their relation to each other is like that of a candle to its flame. It may also be likened to a bundle (*kalāpa*) of reeds or sticks, which stands together in a definite form. If the primitive Buddhists, so called, denied the existence of an individual soul-entity in

whatever manner it might have been conceived, the later Mahayanists, especially the Yogācāryans, as we see, are here trying to revive the idea of a soul in which all the karma of one's former deeds is securely preserved in seed-form (*bīja*).

The activity of the Aliya takes two forms, philosophical or intellectual and moral or psychological. The first is called by Asanga the activity that differentiates itself; the second, the activity that distinguishes between the desirable and the undesirable. By the philosophical activity, so called, heterogeneity of particular objects is evolved out of the essentially one Aliya, where the seeds multitudinous not only in character but in number are merged together. By the moral activity it is meant that from the Aliya there issue forth three things (*dharma*): desire (*kleśa*), action (*karma*), and its effect (*phala*). The original desire which is harboured in the Aliya is the impetus, by dint of which all deeds, characterised sometimes as desirable, sometimes as undesirable, and sometimes indifferent, are produced.

The Sāṃkhya philosophy does not know the first form of activity generated by the Aliya, for it considers Prakṛiti alone the cause of birth and death. Nor does the Lokayatika, for it simply upholds the efficiency of one's former deeds only. The Vaiśeṣika which teaches the doctrine of the Atman with eight attributes, also fails to understand the theory of the Aliya. Those who adhere to the manifestation of Īśvara as well as those that contend that there is no such thing as a first cause,—they all fail to recognise the second form of activity generated by the Aliya; for they imagine that there is really a substance called the ego who is the actor, and that there is really the sufferer of the result of a deed. They thus all fail to perceive the true signification of the "Twelve Chains of Dependence" proceeding from the Aliya. The ignorant are like those blind men who fervently discuss the real elephant whose whole body they have never been able to survey.

## VI

Now there are several reasons why the Aliya is to be called the storage of all seeds and why it is subject to the "infection" or "perfuming" (*adlivāṣitam*, 薰習) of all kinds of acts performed by us.

(1) The Aliya is not a permanently fixed substance: it is not an absolutely rigid, inflexible reality, which is incapable of change and modification. On the contrary, it is nothing but a series or locus of constant transformations. It waxes and wanes, it comes and departs, it rises above the horizon and sinks in the abyss. It is an eternal moving, it is a succession of events. For otherwise the Aliya could not be more than a dead corpse.

(2) It is thus subject to the law of causation. Here is a cause and there must be its effect. Here is a movement and there must be its consequence. Whatever is done by the Aliya, it is not outside the pale of universal causation.

(3) As there is a time for all seeds to stop germinating because of their old age or of their decay, so there is an occasion for the Aliya to perish and lose all its efficacy. This is the time when the Vajracitta (literally, "Diamond-heart", meaning an enlightened, thoroughly purified heart,) replaces the Aliya. Then the latter Vijñāna ceases to be a storage which furnishes an inexhaustible supply to the nourishment of our egoistic prejudices. Its original function of accumulation and transformation is still in full force, but it is no more the source of ignorance and egotism, and is now known as "the Ādhāna" which holds only the seeds of immaculate karma.

(4) The Aliya does not fail to be the cause of reproduction after it has taken in a seed. That is, when it is infected with the karma of a deed, it will definitely reproduce it as soon as it matures under favourable circumstances.

(5) The Aliya begins to be efficient only when various

causes and conditions cooperate harmoniously, for a single cause is not capable of producing varied effects.

(6) The *Aliya* reproduces the original objects (*dharma*s) whose seeds have been conceived by it. A cause assisted by conditions bears its own fruit and no other's. The *Aliya* gives out only what was given to it.

For these reasons the *Aliya* is called the "Vijñāna of Seeds."

## VII

How is it possible for the *Aliya*, as the *Yogācāryans* express it, to be infected by an efficient cause? To answer the question, we make the following considerations:

(1) Only those things that remain stationary or are regular in their successive movements can be infected or perfumed. The wind is too indefinite in its behaviour and naturally cannot be "perfumed", but the oil will take to the perfuming of fragrant flowers, for it definitely keeps its place.

(2) Things are infected or perfumed only when they are neutral, that is, when they do not have an odour of their own. Therefore, highly scented objects such as onions or musk or incense are not liable to be affected by other odours.

(3) There are things whose very nature refuses to be perfumed, for instance, stones and metals.

(4) To make the perfuming process effective, the perfuming and the perfumed must agree. By this it is meant that they must be existing at the same time, in the same place, and of such nature as to allow mutual infection.

From this, it is evident that (1) the *Aliya* is a definite form, and stationary as far as it is formally conceived, (2) but it is indeterminate in character, (3) there is the possibility in it of being affected by outside influences, and finally (4) it is "perfumed" by the karma of the same individual in whom it resides.



Having thus explained the nature of the *Aliya*'s inherent susceptibility to outside influences, *Asanga* now proceeds to establish the reasons why the hypothesis of the *Aliyavijñāna* is necessary and points out that if we did not allow its existence, our impulses, passions, and deeds, whether moral or neutral, would be impossible, no reincarnation could take place, our world of particulars as they present themselves to our senses would not exist, and finally our attainment of *Nirvana* and enlightenment would be an idle talk. He also insists that in the *Samadhi* where all mental operation is said to vanish, the *Aliya* alone must be rationally considered to continue existing.

### VIII

To understand thoroughly the significance of the *Aliya*, we must know its relation to a mental faculty known as *Manas* in Sanskrit, by virtue of which alone it becomes efficient and productive. The *Yogācārya* admits the existence of three forces or factors or causes in our subjective realm, and through their cooperation the universe is considered to start with all its multifarious objects. The first is the *Aliya* or *Citta* or *Hridaya*; the second is *Manas*; and the third is the six *Vijñānas* or senses. *Manas* corresponds to what we understand ordinarily by mind or consciousness, and the six senses are seeing, hearing, smelling, tasting, touching, and thinking. This thinking is the function of a *vijñāna* called "*Manovijñāna*" and not of *Manas* itself.

The difference between the sixth sense, *Manovijñāna*, and *Manas*, is more fundamental according to the Buddhist philosophers than we may think. The *Manovijñāna* properly speaking is the mind and does all kinds of mental operation such as memory, judgment, imagination, desire, decision, willing, etc., but all these functions performed by the *Manovijñāna* are superficial compared with the work of *Manas*;

for the latter is a deeply seated consciousness which ignorantly clings to the ego-conception and to the reality of an external world. Manas is something like the will of Schopenhauer, and constantly asserts itself by influencing or "infecting" the whole system of one's mental activities.

Philosophically, therefore, Manas is to be sharply if possible to be distinguished from the Manovijñāna which is the sense whose base is in Manas. The act of seeing is possible because there is a special organ assigned to do seeing, and in a similar manner the Manovijñāna functions because of Manas which as it were prompts it. If the work performed by the Manovijñāna is not referred to Manas, that is, if all the mental activities are not attended by the unity of consciousness, they will certainly lack coordination, and the entire individuality will collapse. The consciousness, "It is I that thinks or does this or that," is ascribed by the Mahayanists to the function of Manas. The latter therefore is the author of this "self-consciousness" as it ignorantly interprets the significance of the Aliya. Manas constantly reflecting on the Aliya thinks that the latter is the real self, simple and absolute, and weaves the net of all mental operations.

The Aliya itself is wholly innocent of all this operative illusion on the part of Manas. It is Manas that supplies vital energy to the whole field of our mentality and makes the entire system work; and when this work leaves its "habit-energy" behind and "perfumes" the seeds already stowed away in the Aliya in its former lives, the Aliya spontaneously works out its effects, according to definite laws, but all the while being absolutely unconscious of the fact. There is however the intrusion of Manas, and the consciousness looms up suddenly above the horizon with its assertions and clings.

Manas is not a blind will, it is rather an intelligent will; for it is capable of enlightenment. It is due to its

ignorance only that it is tenaciously attached to the conception of the ego as a ultimate reality and contaminates the whole mentation with all its onerous prejudices. As soon as it realises the full import of the Aliya, it is denuded of its egoistic assumptions and opens the way to Nirvana. Manas, therefore, is the pivot on which turns the entire destiny of our spiritual life; according to the way it is set up, we are delivered or doomed. The six senses as well as the Aliya are Manas' neutral and innocent co-workers, or even its subordinate officers who are "perfumed", sweetly or odiously, according to the arbitrary will of their ever-vigilant master. The whole force of the Buddhist discipline is thus naturally concentrated on the enlightenment and subjugation of Manas. When Manas ceases to create its ill-scented and highly infectious germs for the absorption of the Aliya, the latter is no more contaminated and will forever maintain its original healthy neutrality and absolute tranquillity.

## IX

I cannot help making reference here to Āśvaghoṣa's conception of the Aliya. According to some scholars, Āśvaghoṣa, a great Indian philosopher supposed to have been living at the time of King Kanishka, was not the author of the book known as *The Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*; the book was probably written by a Chinese Buddhist philosopher who was unusually learned and most acute-minded, but it somehow came to be ascribed to Āśvaghoṣa, whether unwittingly or no. Some however contend that no such work of a great philosophical insight and of an extraordinary power of analysis could have been written by a Chinese Buddhist unless it were Chigi (智顗) himself, the founder of the Tendai sect of Buddhism. He was the first and the last great Buddhist philosopher worthy of the name in China. The Chinese minds are great in other respects than in logic and philoso-

phy. If the historical Āśvaghoṣa did not write *The Awakening of Faith*, some other Indian mind as great as Nāgārjuna or Asaṅga, endowed with a wonderful power of speculation and analysis, must have produced it. Whatever this was, in view of the widest possible influence the book has played in the history of Buddhist thought in the Far East, I feel reluctant to ignore the doctrine of Aliya as expounded in *The Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*.

According to the author, the Aliya, that is the "Tathāgata-garbha", is a sort of world-womb, from which evolves this universe of particular objects, while that of the Yogācārya is an individual soul in which all the karma-seeds are registered for future germination. Āśvaghoṣa's conception is more ontological and comparatively simple in its constitution, being a psychological interpretation of Suchness (*tathatā*), though it is filled with possibilities: the Yogācāryan Aliya, on the other hand, is quite individual and is heavily laden with all the seeds formerly sown, but in itself indifferent to their development and final fructification, in which respect the Aliya is somewhat like Prakṛiti of the Sāṃkhya philosophy. The Tathāgata-garbha is a stage in the self-evolution of Tathatā.

The Yogācārya school is disposed to consider the Aliya an independent vijñāna more or less concrete, endowed with the power of achieving some work if, assisted by Manas, it subjects itself to the laws of change. It is therefore naturally a relative existence capable of producing effect and suffering the consequence of ignorance. But the Aliya is conceived by Āśvaghoṣa as a unified something of the changeable and the unchangeable: as it is subject to change and transformation, the world is evolved out of it; but as it is unchangeable in itself, the relative world does not go astray altogether in its ignorance and therefore in its evil ways. The Aliya is originally pure and immaculate and illuminating, but because of these virtues it suffers ignorance and impurities to set up in

its own system. When in the heart of the originally-enlightened Aliya a thought is suddenly awakened and grows conscious of its own enlightening quality, the Aliya is then at once subjected to all the consequent errors or complications of thought. With the stirring up of the Aliya from its deep self-absorption in which there was yet no splitting of subject and object, karma has made its *début* and we have this world of relativity.

## X

Here one may ask, Why did not the Buddha teach the existence of the Aliya to the Śrāvakas? Says Asanga: Because it is too subtle to be comprehended by them. They have no intelligence that will enable them to acquire *Sarvajñatā* (all-knowledge), while the Bodhisattvas have it; and again, it is added by Vasubandhu, they show no aspirations whatever for the salvation of all beings, as they are content if they achieved their own salvation or deliverance from ignorance and selfishness.

But the Buddha did not leave the Hinayanists altogether ignorant of the idea of Aliyavijñāna. For he gave them some hints on the subject in many passages in the sacred books of Buddhism, not very clear for them probably, but explicit enough for the Mahayanists. For instance, we read, says Asanga, in the Ekottara-Āgama to the effect that "to those people in the world who take delight in the Aliya, long for the Aliya, practice themselves in the Aliya, cling to the Aliya, the Tathagata preaches the right doctrine in order to let them do away with the Aliya." Here the Buddha hinted at the name of Aliya, but did not reveal its true nature and significance; for it is here used in the sense of the ego as something real.

In the Āgamas of the Mahāsaṅghika school the Vijñāna is known by the name of the "Fundamental (*Mūla*?) Vijñāna;"

for it stands in relation to the other Vijñānas as the root of a tree does to its stems, branches, and leaves. In the Mahiśāsaka school it is designated as "that which transcends the mortal skandhas." All things that are physical or mental are necessarily subject to the cadence of birth and death. They never continue to exist eternally or act incessantly. But that which lies within these perishable phenomena and gathers in itself all the seeds and their karma, knows no interruption, and this is what the Mahayanists call *Aliya-vijñāna*.

It is thus straight and flat "as the royal road" the way paved by the Buddha towards the legitimate conception of the *Aliya*; only the Hinayanists did not have an insight penetrating enough to look into the bottom of the matter.

This *Vijñāna* was altogether erroneously interpreted by the other schools of Buddhism than those already mentioned. Some thought that between *Citta* (that is, *Aliya*) and *Manas* there was no distinction to be made; others thought that the *Tathagata* meant by "*Aliya*", as when he referred to the people taking delight in it, the clinging to worldliness; others thought again that the *Aliya* was our body consisting of the five skandhas, to which we are liable to cling as a final reality; still others maintained that the *Aliya* was the *Ātman* or *Pudgala* or *Kāya*, that is to say, the ego-substance. But as we have seen above, the *Yogācāryans* insist, all these views are altogether inadequate and do not tally with the true doctrine of the Buddha as interpreted by the Mahayanists.

## XI

The *Yogācāryan* conception of *Nirvana* is not characteristically different from that of the other Mahayana schools, but as it is generally expounded in the special treatises belonging to the *Yogācārya*, let me here lightly touch upon the subject.

The problem of Nirvana must have been quite a perplexing one to the earlier followers of the Buddha, who left the term not fully defined. Especially when the death of their Master created such a sense of forlornness among them who lost the most cherished central object of their devotion and worship, the hiatus thus suddenly breaking up in their hearts could not be filled so easily with the idea of an utter annihilation. Nirvana, they thought, must have another meaning than completely vanishing into nothingness. Intellectually, they strived to follow the doctrine of Nirvana in its narrow and perhaps partial sense, but inasmuch as the human emotion is such as it has been from the beginning of life, they tried to construct such a theory of the Buddha's death as will satisfy both mind and heart. While on the one hand the idea of Dharmakaya, the Law-Body of the Buddha, was developing, the signification of Nirvana on the other hand was receiving a gradual change. When the former terminated in the Triple Body doctrine, the latter grew up into the theory by which four forms of Nirvana were recognised as was done in the hands of Asanga and Vasubandhu.

According to Vasubandhu's Commentary on Asanga's *Mahāyānasamparigraha*, he distinguishes four forms of Nirvana: (1) Nirvana in its purest original forms (本來清淨涅槃); (2) Nirvana that leaves something behind (有餘涅槃); (3) Nirvana that leaves nothing behind (無餘涅槃); and (4) Nirvana that has no abode (無住處涅槃).

In this classification, the term "Nirvana" is used not in its ordinary sense of extinction, but rather in the sense of final beatitude, which is a blissful state of mind after liberation from the ego. In any event, "Nirvana" has acquired quite a different connotation now. The first Nirvana, that is, Nirvana in its purest, original, self-identical form is nothing but a synonym of Tathatā or Suchness, which is

considered by all the Mahayanists to be inherent in all individual beings, though in most minds it is found eclipsed by their subjective ignorance. In this sense Nirvana is not a state of mind but a virtue inherently possessed by it.

The second Nirvana that leaves something behind is a state of Suchness which though liberated from the bondage of desire is still under the ban of karma. It is the Nirvana attainable by the Śrāvakas in their life-time. When they become Arhats, they no more cherish any egoistic desires and thoughts, but they are yet susceptible to the sufferings of birth and death; for their mortal, material existence is the result of their former karma, which cannot be extinguished until its due course has been run.

The third Nirvana in which nothing remains is a state of Suchness released from the sufferings of birth and death, that is, at the time of material extinction. With our egoistic desires and impulses exterminated and with our corporeal being brought to its natural end, we are said to be entering into eternal Nirvana, in which nothing leaves its trace that is likely to entangle us again in the whirlpool of transmigration. According to the Mahayanists this is supposed to be the life-goal of the Hinayanists.

The last Nirvana that knows no dwelling (*Apratisthitānirvāna*) is a state of Suchness obtained by the extermination of the bondage of intellect. For two hindrances are recognised by the Mahayanists as lying in the way to final salvation: hindrance of desire (*klesāvarana*, 煩惱障) and hindrance of intellect or knowledge (*jñeyāvarana*, 所知障). The first is moral and comes from egoism, while the second is philosophical and the outcome of imperfect knowledge. The first hindrance is destroyed when our instinctively egotistic desires are subdued; the second is removed when we acquire all-knowledge (*sarvajñatā*, 一切智) which belongs to Bodhisattvaship. Hence the Nirvana that results from the severance of the



intellectual bondage is sought by the pious followers of Mahayana Buddhism. At this stage of enlightenment there are awakened in the soul of a Mahayanist infinite wisdom and infinite love. By the wisdom that transcends the limitations of birth and death, he does not cling to the vicissitudes of the world. By the love that is free from the dualism of love and hatred, he does not "dwell" in the beatitude of Nirvana. On the contrary, he mixes himself among the masses, lives the life of an average man, subjects himself to the laws of a material world. But his innermost heart is free from all egotistic impulses and desires, and it is through his infinite love for his fellow-creatures that he is on earth trying every means of salvation and enlightenment to awaken them from the darkness of ignorance; for a Bodhisattva is never content with his own spiritual bliss.

By the attainment of this final Nirvana the Aliya is no more a storage of defiled seeds, for it has been deprived of all the causes and conditions which made this accumulation possible, and Manas no longer erroneously reflects on the Aliya to take it for the ego, the six senses are no more contaminated by ignorance and egoism. The Aliya at this stage is called the Dharmakāya.

## XII

There are many more things I should like to write about in connection even with this briefest exposition of the Yogācārya philosophy, for instance, on such subjects as its absolute subjective idealism, the classification of things (*dharma*) into five groups and one hundred subjects, interactions between the eight Vijñānas, the Triple Body of the Buddha, etc. Of these the most important is the Triple Body doctrine, but as the subject was ably treated of by Professor Akanuma whose article appeared in the previous number of this magazine, I refrain from repeating it. As to the rest, I shall not attempt

in the present paper to go any further than making a short remark about the term "Aliya."

The Chinese equivalent for "Aliya" is 阿黎耶 (*a-li-yeh*) and that for "Ālaya" is 阿賴耶 (*a-lai-yeh*). Is this all-important conception of the Yogācārya to be transcribed as "Ālaya" or "Aliya"? As most Buddhist scholars are used to the Chinese form, "Ālaya", it may have been better in this article to adopt this form also. But as I have written it principally from the older translation of the *Mahāyāna-samparigraha* where "Aliya" is used, I have followed its example.

The Chinese translations of the Buddhist texts are generally divided into two classes, old and new. The dividing line chronologically starts with Hsüan Ts'ang (玄奘) who came back to China in A. D. 649 after long adventurous journeys in India and Central Asia. When he began to translate the texts he brought back, he found some dissatisfying features in the older translations and introduced many new terms which he thought would express the original ideas clearer. In all the Chinese texts prior to him, "Aliya" is uniformly used by such translators as Kumārajīva, Paramārtha, etc. Hsüan Ts'ang was probably more accurate, and literally more faithful to the original, but the new translations are invariably less pure and elegant as far as the style is concerned. In many instances, the older translations are still more popularly read and studied. But it was due to Hsüan Ts'ang that "Aliya" came to be replaced by "Ālaya."

According to Pao Ts'ang (法藏), the most noted Chinese commentator of Śvaghosha's *Awakening of Faith*, who was well versed in Sanskrit and helped the Indian scholars in their great work of turning the Sanskrit into the Chinese in the seventh and the eighth century, we have the following concerning the term "Aliya." "*A-lai-yeh* or *a-li-yeh* is a local dialect of Sanskrit. Paramārtha literally translated it

無沒識 (*wu-mo-shih*, 'not-hidden vijñāna'), while Hsüan Ts'ang, according to the sense, rendered it 藏識 (*ts'ang-shih*, 'storing vijñāna'). *Ts'ang-shih* here means *ch'ih-ts'ang* (持藏, that is, containing, embodying, comprehending, embracing), and *wu-mo* means *pu-shih* (不失, that is, not losing). Though the characters are different, the sense is the same."

In spite of Pao Ts'ang, *a-li-ya* seems to be different from *ā-la-ya* not only in sense but in its grammatical form. The root may be the same for both terms, that is, "lī"; but the "a" of *aliya* is privative while "ā" of *ā-la-ya* is a particle with a definite meaning. The dialect theory solves many difficulties, and shall we adopt it here? Whatever this is, the text Paramārtha used for his translation of the *Mahāvānaparisamgraha* must have had *aliya* or *āliya* for 阿黎耶 (*ā-li-yeh*).

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

## FUDO THE IMMOVABLE.

### I

FROM the earliest days of Buddhism in Japan, one of the most popular gods (or symbolical beings) known as "Vidyārājas" has been Fudo the Immovable (不動明王, *Acala* in Sanskrit). His name and his features and attitude as are generally represented in paintings and sculptures suggest the fierceness of his original character. One may think that such a terrible-looking god could represent only evil, destroying every vestige of goodness in the world. But his fearsome attitude is not assumed against anything that is good and holy, but against iniquities, enemies of Buddhism, obstructors of enlightenment. He is to be feared only by those that harbour evils in their hearts but to be warmly greeted by friends of justice, virtue, and knowledge. His inflexible courage is eternally set for the destruction of everything that will finally lead the world to ignorance and selfishness. In this work he is indefatigable. But strangely in popular minds he has turned to be a god of worldly welfare and is worshipped as one who will grant his devotees all the material advantages that they may ask of him. Hence his extreme popularity.

Theoretically, Fudo the Immovable belongs to the Shingon sect and is one of the Five or Eight Vidyārājas, Lords of Knowledge (明王, *Myōō*). He is also known as one of the "Krodharājas," Lords of Wrath (*Funnu-myōō*, 忿怒明王), ten of whom are generally reckoned. But Fudo is regarded as the principal one of the Five Vidyārājas who are representatives of the Five Buddhas. According to the Shingon doctrine, a Buddha is considered to have three forms of manifestation, called "three vehicles." First, he remains in

his own natural form ; second, he assumes a Bodhisattva form in order to make himself accessible to human beings according to their various spiritual needs ; third, he manifests himself as a Lord of Wrath to make evil-doers amenable to the teaching of the Buddhas, showing that evil is to be handled frequently in a rough, merciless manner, and that the world is not such as it ought to be, where there is so much ungodliness that is to be brought to subjection. The Five Buddhas enumerated in the cosmology of the Shingon, are Vairocana (*Dainichi*, 大日), Akshobhya (*Ashuku*, 阿閼), Ratnasambhava (*Hosho*, 寶生), Amitāyus (*Muryōju*, 無量壽), and Amoghasiddhi (*Fukū-jōju*, 不空成就) ; the corresponding Bodhisattvas are : Prajña (*Hannya*, 般若), Vajra (*Kongō*, 金剛), Vajragarbha (*Kongōzō*, 金剛藏), Manjuśrī (*Monju*, 文殊), and Vajrayaksha (*Kongōge*, 金剛牙) ; the Five Lords of Wrath incarnating the respective Buddhas are : Acala (*Fudō*, 不動, Trailokyavijaya (*Gōsanze*, 降三世), Kundali (*Kundari*, 軍荼利), Yamantaka (*Daitoku*, 大威德), and Vajrayaksha (*Kongōyasha*, 金剛夜叉).\*

Strictly speaking, every Buddha is supposed to have his Krodhakāya, wrath-body, (忿怒身, *fūnnushin*) as well as his female counterpart (*sakti*), but the number of the known Gods of Wrath is far less than that of the Buddhas. The Gods of Wrath most popularly known are those five just mentioned, but sometimes the number goes up to ten.

The Five Vidyārājas or Myōwas were formerly worshipped in group, none of them being singled out as a special object of devotion. But later somehow Fudo the Immovable came to leave the group of five and make himself the representative of all the Wrath-manifestations of the Buddhas. The reason was partly, I believe, that he symbolises Dainichi, the

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\* Amoghasiddhi Buddha seems to have just one name as Bodhisattva and as Krodharāja, both being called Vajrayaksha. But in Japanese, his Bodhisattva name is Kongōge (meaning "vajra-tooth") and his Rāja name is Kongōyakusha which is the combination of Vajra and Yaksha, a demigod.

Great Sun Buddha (*Vairocana*, 毘盧舍那), who is the great illuminator of the universe, according to the Shingon, and the central figure of the world-system. It is through Dainichi that all existence is made possible, and that life though filled with various defilements can be enjoyed in its purity. Fudo thus came to play such an important rôle in the pantheon of Buddhism. But probably the main reason was that the popular mind could not grasp all the subtleties and intricacies of the philosophy of the Shingon and simply wanted one figure of Wrath, in whom all the speculative abstraction would be symbolised, and yet who could appeal to the imagination of the Japanese; for they abhor too intensified and seemingly grotesque personifications of anger, revenge, and punishment. As we may recognise in all the Fudo pictures and sculptures, there is something in them that rather kindly attracts us to the god, he is not so repellent and too awe-inspiring even in his intensest passion as in the other Lords of Wrath. Perhaps, in spite of his immovable graveness, his form is that of an undeveloped child, suggesting his innocent and cherubic character which is appealing. His original vow (*samaya*, 本誓), as every spiritual being is supposed according to the Shingon doctrine to have made some kind of oath which justifies his reason of appearance in the world, is to remove all possible obstacles lying in the progressive course of Buddhism. United with his personality, this vow must have helped to lift him up to his present position among the gods of Buddhism in Japan.

## II

To paint or sculpture the immovable God of Wrath, one has to observe the rules that are set forth in the books devoted to his worship. Since the introduction of the symbolic Shingon sect into China in A.D. 716 and Japan in 816, a special class of Buddhist literature known as the "*Guhyakalpa*"



Fig. 1.

Fudo According to the *Mystic Rites of Acala the Messenger*.

(*Himitsugiki*, 秘密儀軌) has developed, comprising several hundreds of volumes in Chinese edition. They principally describe all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Vidyarajas, Devas, Yakshas, etc., that belong to the iconography of the Shingon, they are a veritable encyclopedia of this field of Buddhist study, and around them there has grown an immense library of commentaries, notes, illustrations, and documents to be secretly transmitted. These "Books of Mystic Rituals" are not confined to the mere descriptions of the various objects of Buddhist worship, but give all the necessary information as to how to make them religious offerings, how to produce their images and portraits, when and where they are to be worshipped, and so forth. It is really astounding to see how deeply and sometimes how fantastically the human imagination can work out this phase of mystic symbolism. The Shingon ritualism is quite an absorbing study for those who are interested in occultism generally. To show how Fudo is to be depicted, I quote from one of the Kalpa Books dealing with his worship.

"Paint Acala the Messenger<sup>1</sup> on good silk,<sup>2</sup> he has a red garment worn across the body, his skirt too is red. One braid of his hair hangs down over his left ear. He looks somewhat squintingly with his left eye. A rope is in his left hand, and a sword upright in his right. The top of the sword resembles a lotus-flower,<sup>3</sup> and on its handle there is

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1. His title is sometimes "messenger," sometimes "lord of knowledge," and sometimes simply "the honourable." In this may be traced various stages of the historical development of the god.

2. This is not always required. To make the prayer efficacious for the suppression of evil-doings the devotee may paint the god with his own blood on a cloth taken from a grave. It is sometimes recommended to paint him on any good cloth.

3. In none of his pictures I have so far come across is this observed.





Fig. 2.

Another Form of Fudo Described in the *Mystic Rites*.

a jewelled decoration. He sits on a rock made of precious stones. His eyebrows are lifted, and his eyes expressing anger are such as to frighten all sentient beings. The colour of his body is red and yellow."

Having thus painted the god, the devotee is told to take the picture to the bank of a river or to the seashore where he should be enshrined according to the established formula. Hence popularly in Japan his association with waterfalls and springs. This suggests that he was formerly a water-god.

The book from which the above is quoted is called *The Mystic Rites of the Dharami of Acala the Messenger* (不動使者陀羅尼秘密法). In the same book a little further down, however, we have a somewhat different description of the god. He is here reddish-yellow wearing a blue garment across the body, but with a red skirt. His left braid is the colour of a black cloud. The features are boyish. A vajra, Indra's thundervolt, is in his right hand and a rope in his left. From both ends of his mouth, his tusks are slightly visible. His angry eyes are red. Enveloped in flames he sits on a hill of stone. In this description, flames symbolise the burning of passions, and the stone on which he is made to sit points to his adamant will.

In the *Trisamaya-acala-kalpa*, (底哩三昧耶不動尊法, there are two versions of this book, one in three volumes and the other in one volume), the god is supposed to wear a skirt of the colour of red earth and sits on a lotus-flower. In another place he holds a vajra, not a sword, in his right hand and a sacred staff in his left. The eyes are somewhat reddish and his whole person is enveloped in flames.

There representations though more or less different in detail are essentially alike. Quite another form of the god is described in the *Book of Rites Concerning the Ten Gods of Wrath* (十大忿怒明王儀軌): "He has a squinting eye, boyish features, six arms, and three faces, each of which has



Fig. 3.

*Fudo in the Acala Kalpa.*



Fig. 4.

Fudo with a Sword in His Left Hand and a Rope in his Right  
and Sitting on a Lotus-flower.

three eyes, and wears boyish personal ornaments. The front face is smiling; the right is yellowish with the tongue sticking out, the colour of which is bloody; the left face is white, has an angry expression, uttering the sound 'hūm.' The colour of the body is blue, the feet rest on a lotus-flower and on the hill of precious stone. He stands in a dancer's attitude and is able to keep away all evil ones. The entire person wrapped in flames has like the sun a circle of rays about it. The first right hand has a sword, the second a vajra, the third an arrow. Of the left hands, the first holds a rope with the thumb standing, the second the *Prajñāpāramitā-Sūtra*, and the third a bow. The god wears a Buddha crown which is the symbol of Akshobhya-buddha.

There are some other forms of the god Fudo somewhat differing from the foregoing ones, but I will not go into details here. Suffice it to state in a general way that he assumes different features according to the different purposes for which his help is invoked. For instance, when he is requested to suppress the enemy, his body is to be painted yellow with four faces and four arms. Sharp tusks are protruding from the mouth, and his expression of anger is most intense; he is wrapped in burning flames, and his posture is such as to make one think that he is going to devour at once an entire army of the enemy.

In most of his modern pictures or images we see flames enveloping his whole body, which is blue; and the seat on which he sits or stands is not always decorated with gems, it is merely a huge block of stone, or a sort of tiled pedestal.<sup>1</sup> His forehead has in most cases some wrinkles in the form of waves, which is in accord with the description in the *Vairocana Sutra* (大日經).

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1. This tallies with *The Rites of the Ten Gods* as well as with Vajrapani's description of the god in his *Sutra on the Baptism of Light* (金剛手光明灌頂經).



Fig. 5.

Fudo with Four Faces and Four Arms.

## III

The meaning of all these various symbols is explained as follows in the introductory part of the *Trisamya-acala-kalpa* (the three-volume version): There is a deep significance in his being one eyed,<sup>1</sup> for this is the symbol of the utmost ugliness and compels Acala to think of his own shortcomings and defects which stand in such contrast to the noble, perfect, and superior features of the Buddha. Furthermore, this ugliness tends to frighten away evil beings. The seven knots on the top of his head signify the seven branches of Bodhi (wisdom). One braid of hair hanging down his left shoulder typifies his merciful heart, which is sensitive to the sufferings of all lowly situated and much neglected beings. The sword in his right hand is meant to wage war against evils in the same way as a worldly warrior fights against the enemy. The rope in his left hand is to bind those devils whose unruly spirits have to be kept under control by the Buddha's restraining hands. The rock on which he sits is the symbol of his character, that is, the immovability of his will. Like the mountain pacifying the tumultuous waves of the great ocean, the rock represents the eternal calmness of his mind. It also signifies spiritual treasure as the mine conceals in its bosom precious metals and stones. The fire enveloping the deity typifies the burning up of all the impurities that are attached to the human heart.

Another interpretation of Fudo appears in I-Tsing's (義淨) *Commentary on the Vairocana Sutra*: "This god has in a long past attained his Buddhahood upon the lotus-pedestal of Vairocana; but owing to his original vow he now manifests himself in his early imperfect form which he had at the first awakening of his great heart. Becoming the

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1. In the foregoing descriptions, squintingly; and in some images both eyes look alike.

Tathagata's servant and messenger, he is engaged in various menial works. He holds a sharp sword and a rope in his hands, this is in obedience to the Tathagata's impassioned commands to destroy all evil spirits. The rope represents the four practical methods of inducing [people to the Dharma]—methods that are contrived through the thought of enlightenment (菩提心 *bodhicitta*). The rope will ensnare the unruly ones and keep them in check. The sharp sword of wisdom is to cut off the interminable life of karma possessed by unruly spirits in order to make them obtain a great transcendental existence. When the karma-seed of life is removed, all idle windy talk will come to a final end. Therefore, the god tightly closes his mouth. The reason why he sees with one eye only is to show that when the Tathagata looks about with his eye of sameness there is not a sentient being who is to be saved.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, in whatever work this god is engaged in, his whole object is to accomplish that work. His firm position on the pile of huge stones signifies the immovable spirit with which he works for the strengthening of the pure thought of enlightenment."

Fudo the Immovable is in fact the incarnation of obedience, faithfulness, and loyalty. He becomes messenger to Vairocana, for he wishes to perform for him the servile duties of transmitting the august orders and messages of his lordship. As he is commanded, he goes among the poor as well as the noble, he makes no discrimination, and his only anxiety is to execute all the offices, whether good or bad, entrusted to him by Vairocana. He therefore symbolises the slave and all his good qualities. The knots of hair hanging on the left side of his head denote the number of generations of the master whom he has served. The lotus-

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1. In another place this is understood as meaning the uniqueness of the Buddha's spiritual eye-sight, which is one, and not two, nor three.





Fig. 6.

Fudo Tramping on Iśvara and His Consort.

flower<sup>1</sup> on his head is the vehicle on which he will convey his master to the other shore of life eternal, that is, to the Pure Land. In his menial capacity he will most faithfully serve his worshippers who are at the same time his masters. The reason that his left eye looks differently from the right, is because this is usually noticeable among the servile class.

In the *Trisamaya-acala-kalpa*, (the one volume version), we are advised "to make an offering to this holy one with a part of our own food and drink. As his original vow is to give himself up to lovingkindness, he is willing to serve all those who hold and recite his mantrams [or magic phrases, which are given at the end of this article]; his desire is to enslave himself as we may see from his one-eyed form. He accepts our left-off food and will be sure to protect us, if we thus remember him at each meal, against the evil demons including Vinayaka [that is, Ganesha], and remove for us whatever obstacles or difficulties we may be suffering."

The following story is told of the God Immovable in I-Tsing's *Commentary on the Vairocana Sutra* (Chapter "On the Removal of Obstacles"): When the Tathagata received illumination, all sentient beings in the universe came to greet him with the exception of the great lord of the heavens, Mahéśvara, who was too proud to come and greet the Buddha. Thereupon, Acala was despatched to summon him to the earth. But the lord of the heavens surrounded himself, though quite unbecoming to his dignity, with all sorts of filthy substances, so that nobody would dare approach him; for, however proficient one may be in magic arts, filth is supposed to be the most efficient means of disenchantment. Acala was not to be disheartened. All the filth was immediately devoured and

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1. This lotus-flower does not seem to be mentioned anywhere in the Kalpas relating to the worship of this god, but in most of images we see in Japan there is the flower on his head. Cf. illustrations here reproduced from various sources.

done away with. The lord however refused seven times to listen to the protest of Acala, saying that he was the supreme master of the heavens and had no cause to yield to his request. But the latter proved himself to be more than a match for the haughty lord; for he firmly set his left foot upon the halfmoon on the forehead of the lord himself, while his right foot was placed on that of the lordly consort. They both expired under the pressure, but in the meantime they realised the significance of the holy doctrine as discovered by the Buddha and were promised their future attainment of Buddhahood. This explains the meaning of certain pictures of Fudo in which he is depicted as stamping on two figures, male and female. This also reminds us of the Hindu god, Śiva.

Fudo is sometimes identified with Ucchashman-Vidyārāja (烏樞沙摩明王) who is the god of filthy places and seen generally enshrined over the entrance-door to a lavatory in Japanese Buddhist temples. That Fudo devoured all the filthy substances with which the lord of the heavens surrounded himself, may have caused this confusion (or might it be identification?). There are many instances in the iconography of the Shingon where the functions of the gods, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and others seem to overlap one another, indicating that the Shingon pantheon was not the growth of one day or the production of one mind, but that various elements, including the popular superstitions of the different nations where they were once honoured, were somewhat indiscriminately adopted to fill up the cosmological plans of the Shingon philosophy.

#### IV

Fudo is commonly found attended by two figures and less frequently by eight. But his attendants are said sometimes to be many as thirty-six or forty-eight. In the case of the two attendants, the one standing on his left, a young boy,



Fig. 7.

Fudo with His Two Attendants.

is called Kinkara, and the other to the right who looks like a malicious demon is Chetaka. According to *The Mystic Rites Concerning the Eight Boy-Attendants to the Holy Lord of the Immovable* (聖無動尊八大童子軌), Kinkara is a boy of about fifteen years and wears a lotus-crown. His body is white. His hands are folded together and between the forefingers and the thumbs he holds a vajra crosswise. He wears a celestial garment as well as a Buddhist robe. The other boy, Chetaka, has a red lotus colour, and his hair is tied in five knots. In his left hand there is a vajra and in his right a vajra staff. As he cherishes anger and evil thoughts, he does not wear a Buddhist robe but a celestial garment only which hangs about his neck and shoulders. But in most of the popular pictures Kinkara holds a lotus-flower. He represents wisdom whereas Chetaka means bliss.

Fudo the Immovable sometimes appears in the form of a sword entwined by a dragon or snake whose mouth bites the triangular point of it. This is known as Kurikara Fudo (俱利迦羅不動) and supposed to be the symbolical representation of the god. But there is apparently a confusion here, for Kurikara who is the king of the Nāgas or dragons and whose Sanskrit name seems to be Kalika, is one of the eight attendants and is probably to be identified with Anavadaptanāgarāja (阿耨達龍王).

There are many variations of Fudo partly because various legends are connected with his life, and partly because the artist or devotee is free to have a figure of the god as he has conceived him in vision or otherwise. Still another cause of variation and a strong one, is his extreme popularity.

This god, as was mentioned before, is associated with the waterfall, and is generally carved in a rock nearby. The devotee himself in the flowing water as a token of purification, while devoutly offering his prayers to the flame-enveloped deity.

In Tokyo, there are many Buddhist temples dedicated to Fudo, and one of the most famous is that at Fukagawa on the south side of the river Sumida. In the midst of the cold season, many earnest followers of the god, men and women, can be seen bathing themselves in the water-falls which have been artificially constructed there for the purpose. Prayers thus offered during the cold season are considered to be particularly efficacious. In former days these bathers were all naked, but the authorities do not permit this now.

In the neighbourhood of Tokyo, Narita is most noted, where thousands of the devotees pay their respect yearly making bounteous offerings both in money and in kind so that not only the town itself prospers but the temple-keepers are able to maintain a fine library, a school, and other organs of public utility.

Almost all the temples in Japan issue what is known as *ofuda* (御札), an "honourable tablet (or slip of paper)", or *omamori* (御守), an "honourable guard", of various kinds. This is generally a piece of paper, (or sometimes a wooden board), oblong and varying in size ordinarily from about 1×3 to about 7×15 inches, on which is printed the image of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva, or of one of the gods, but frequently a Sanskrit character or phrase, or some words of prayer which have been offered on behalf of the devotee. This *omamori* is supposed to have the power to ward off evil spirits if a man carries it about him or pastes it up on the entrance-door of his residence or on the wall. Some *omamori* or *ofuda* will even keep burglars away from one's home, some will protect the silkworm from an epidemic, while others may insure the safe delivery of a child. These are only a few of the things promised by the Buddhist god or rather by the priests.

The general masses of people nowadays do not understand the full signification of the Fudo worship. They go

to his temple merely because he is a Buddhist god and as such is naïvely supposed to grant them anything they may be in need of. For instance, they may ask of him to win in races and games, or to be fortunate in their commercial enterprises, especially when they involve much risk and speculation, or to be free from accidents in travel, or to pass successfully the entrance examinations to schools or colleges, or to be exonerated from military duties. But, judging from the general tendencies of his character, he seems to be especially efficient in removing all kinds of obstacles which lie in the way of one's undertakings, religious or otherwise. His qualification is more negative than positive. This is natural; for the very fact that a supreme, perfect being had to incarnate himself in this fierce, abnormal, disquieting form proves the extraordinary character of the god. His other title is "The Great Destroyer of Hindrances." When the worshipper has thoroughly succeeded in identifying himself with the god, we are told, his fire will consume all the worlds and make them one mass of flame shining like seven suns; his mouth will devour like that of the great horse the multitudinosity of things; and not the least chance will be left for any evil spirit to work mischief. Thus, he is to be invoked particularly when there are difficulties or obstructions to overcome, that is to say, when an epidemic is to be checked, or a drought to be broken, or an enemy to be annihilated, or a building to be insured against fire, storm, earthquake, etc. For the latter purpose, however, there is a specific ritual to be performed. Fudo then appears in a form somewhat different from the popular one. The Fudo ritual that takes place at a Shingon temple is quite an elaborate performance, and on some important occasions the ritual is not to be disturbed by any outsiders.

There are innumerable pictures and images in stone or wood or clay of Fudo, the Immovable God, enshrined and

worshipped by his devotees all over Japan. Among them the most noteworthy paintings, artistically considered, are the "Aka-Fudo" (Red Fudo) of Myōwō-in, at Kōyasan, the "Ki-Fudo" (Yellow Fudo) of Manju-in near Kyoto, and Fudo of Seiren-in in Kyoto. Of the sculptures one may mention two as most highly appreciated by art critics, the one at Shinnō-in, Kōyasan, and the other at Kyōwōgokokuji, Kyoto. The frontispiece to this number of *The Eastern Buddhist* is a reproduction of the "Aka-Fudo" of Kōyasan, of which one of the official art advisers to the Department of Education says: "Whoever comes to Kōyasan, this is the first thing to which he ought to pay homage. We say this, because it is the spiritual creation of an artistic genius inspired really by a burning faith. As the whole body is coloured red it is popularly known as 'Aka-Fudo.' To paint the adamant spirit-body in red as seated enveloped in flames, is probably what everybody could conceive of, and yet it was what nobody ever attempted to do except for the present artist. The reddened body is delineated with strong lines boldly drawn like a rude steel cord; and the red robes are painted with large flower designs while the drapery-folds are shaded with gold pigment. Such technique is something we rarely have since Fujiwara and is powerful enough to depict the unapproachable dignity of the Myōwō. The attendant-boys are simply and concisely done, their freedom from elaborate decorations is quite appropriate here. The picture is like a great pyramid towering far above in the arts of mystic Buddhism."

## VI

The three mantrams used in the invocation of Fudo the Immovable are classified according to the number of syllables each contains: short, middling, and unabridged. The short one is:





Fig. 8.

The Noted "Yellow Fudo" is in Form Like This.



Fig. 9.

A Form of Fudo Preserved at Miidera.



Fig. 10.

Another Form of Fudo at Miidera.

“Namah samantavajrānām hām!”

नमः समन्तवज्रानाम्

(in Sanskrit in the *Siddham* style).

(Adoration to the All-Vajra! Ham!)

The Middling one is:

“Namah samantavajrānām chaṇḍa mahāroshana sphoṭa-  
ya hūm trāṭa hām mām.”

नमः समन्तवज्रानाम् चण्डमहारोषणस्पष्ट  
यहूँ त्राट हाम् माम्

(Adoration to the All-Vajra! O the Terrible One! O the  
Great Wrathful One! Destroy! Hum! Trat! Ham! Mam!)

The fullest, unabridged one runs thus:

“Namah sarva-tathāgatebhyo vishvamukhebhyaḥ sarva-  
tha trat chaṇḍa mahāroshana kham khāḍi khāḍi sar-  
vaviḥnam hūm trāṭ hām mām.”

नमः सर्वतथगतैर्बहुविधैस्तु सर्वत्र चण्डमहारोषण  
खम खडि खडि सार्वविघ्नमहूँ त्राट हाम् माम्

(Adoration everywhere to all the Tathagatas, to the All-  
aced Ones in all place! Trat! O the Terrible One! O the  
Wrathful One! Kham! Destroy, destroy every obstruction!  
Hum! Trat! Ham! Mam!)

When Fudo is represented by characters alone, “Ham-  
mam” or “Tram” may stand for him. His *gfuda* is often  
found to be nothing but one of these Sanskrit characters written  
in the *Siddham* style.<sup>1</sup>

BEATRICE LANE SÚZUKI

1. The writer wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness in the preparation  
of this article to Professor D. T. Suzuki for his supply of the original materials  
and to Professor Idzumi for his transcription of the mantrams.

## THE ENLIGHTENED MIND OF THE BUDDHA AND THE SHIN TEACHING

WHEN the content of the Buddha's enlightened consciousness is analysed, there we find thatness opposed to thisness, that is, the simultaneous existence of "me" and "thee." This I have already explained in one of my previous articles published in the present magazine. The ego, therefore, was not the sole and whole content of the enlightened mind of the Buddha when he realised in himself the absolute truth of Buddhism; there was in it the thought of "otherness" whereby the notion of selfhood grows intelligible.

The philosophy of the Shin sect is constructed upon this dualism of "me" and "thee" as existed concretely unified in the mind of the Buddha, and the teaching and faith of the Shin sect are cut and sewn together from this philosophical broadcloth.

By "the teaching" I mean the doctrine taught by the Buddha throughout his fifty years, missionary peregrination after the Enlightenment, and there is no doubt that this teaching is a reflected glow of his enlightened mind and what is popularly known as Buddhism now flourishing mostly in the East. But we may distinguish three phases in one body of Buddhism. When the truth was still dwelling as it were in a nascent form in the mind of the Buddha, we call it the truth revealed; when it came forth in the words of the Buddha, it is his own teaching or the truth expounded; when after the Nirvana the truth expounded by him is propagated by his followers throughout the world, it is the truth transmitted. In spite of these distinctions, variously designable, the truth of Buddhism must remain the same in them all; for they are invariably the overflows of one identical water, first as spring, then as cataract, and finally as river.

The water that is ever the same in its overflowing and never-ceasing course, however multifarious forms it may assume in the meantime, is to be known as the "Saddharma" or simply as "Dharma". What I wish to consider in the present article is the teaching or the truth expounded by the Buddha, and this teaching may generally be defined thus: (1) It is the doctrine taught by the Buddha, (2) It is the doctrine that will make us Buddhas, and (3) It is the doctrine that teaches what Buddhism is.

While the Buddha's teaching later developed into various schools of Buddhism, its principal tenets will be seen all summed up in the foregoing definition which, when fully expanded, will answer our questions concerning the why, how, and what of Buddhism. The teaching of the Shin sect whose basis is laid in the enlightened consciousness of the Buddha, thus also is an endeavour to answer these three questions. It is quite natural then that Shinran Shōnin, the founder of the Shin sect, attempts in his text-book to explain the teaching of the Buddha according to the light of the definition of Buddhism as I suggested above. By the text-book is meant his principal work, *Doctrine, Practice, Faith, and Attainment* (教行信證), the full title of which runs: "Classified Passages relating to the Doctrine, Practice, Faith, and Attainment, which reveal the Truth of the Pure Land." The work consists of six parts treating of the Doctrine, Practice, Faith, Attainment, the True Buddha-land, and the Land of the Transformed Body.

The "Book of Doctrine" explains the first part of our definition of Buddhism and tells us what is the true teaching of the Buddha, understanding by the Buddha the Muni of the Śākyas who attained Buddhahood.

The "Book of Practice, of Faith, and of Attainment" refers to the second part of our definition of Buddhism pointing out the way to Buddhahood. Here the Buddha stands

contrasted to all beings, every one of whom is a possible Buddha endowed with all the virtues of Buddhahood.

This being the case, what is after all the Buddha? we may ask. Is the Muni of the Śākya the only Buddha? or Are we the Buddhas too? When we speak of a true Buddha, whom shall we understand? To answer this question, the author of the *Doctrine, Practice, Faith, and Attainment* distinguishes between the Buddha true and the Buddha transformed, and concludes that Amitābha Buddha, the saviour of the world, is the true one, telling us at the same time where is the Pure Land of the True Buddha and that of the Buddha of Transformation. The last two books are devoted to this subject.

The purport of my article is to explain what is the teaching of the Shin sect as based upon the doctrine of the Buddha and made manifest in the "Book of Doctrine."

When we know that in the inmost consciousness of the Enlightened One there was a concrete unification of "me" and "thee", and that all his teachings are founded upon this spiritual truth of unity, we know where lies the true signification of the Buddha's appearance on earth. This has been one of the knottiest questions of Buddhism for scholars to give a satisfactory solution. Of all the numerous Sūtras which are uniformly ascribed to the Buddha, which carries his true spirit? The answer has been variously given by scholars, and we have not yet come to any definite settlement. But the settlement will be found much easier when we realise the ultimate content of the enlightened consciousness of the Buddha himself. And this we have found to be the duality of thisness and thatness coalesced in truth and standing in opposition. If this is the true interpretation of the enlightenment, the Buddhist scriptures, however varied in content and subject-matter, must be all regarded as expounding the inner meaning of the Buddha-consciousness. Some of the Sūtras

are thus devoted to the interpretation of the "that" aspect of Buddhahood, some others are more concerned with the "this" aspect, and still others with the interpenetration in its various forms of "thisness" and "thatness." Naturally, therefore, some aspects of Buddha-nature are more fully developed in some sutras than in others. Taking all in all, the essence of Buddhism as religion must lie in fully and comprehensively shedding light not only in the exposition of "this" side and "that" side of the enlightened consciousness of the Buddha, but in the religious meaning of their interaction. Among the very few of the Buddhist texts definitely and in an all-sufficient manner treating of this subject, Shinran Shōnin, the founder of the Shin sect, discovered the Larger Amitāyuh Sutra to be the "true teaching" of the Buddha in its strictest sense. This Sutra was preached by the Buddha on the Mount of the Holy Vulture to a congregation of his disciples headed by Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra. The Buddha addressed the Sutra principally to Ananda and Maitreya. According to Shinran, we read: "Now to disclose the true teaching of the Buddha, this is none other than the Larger Amitāyuh Sutra. The essential doctrine of this Sutra is that in Amida vows were awakened, the treasury of the Dharma was widely opened, and taking pity on the ignorant and lowly, he selected and distributed the jewels of merit [or bliss] among them; while Shaka coming on earth illuminatingly expounded the teaching of truth as he wished to save the masses and bless them with the merits of truth."

In this passage Shinran refers to Amida as the revelation of the "Thou" aspect of the Buddha-consciousness, and to Shaka as the revelation of the "I" aspect. While Amida as "Thou", the saviour of the world, retains his position eternally, "I", the world-honoured Śākyamuni, assumes in the "Book of Doctrine" an objective attitude towards all sentient beings, and this objectification of "I", puts Śākya-



muni on the side of the saviour, "thou", ending in a co-partnership of the Saviour and the Teacher or Revealer. The real form of Amida is thus seen in some way altogether concealed behind Śākyamuni the Revealer. But as he has not lost his original identity, he sometimes all of a sudden comes out to our full view, his glory shines forth in its native grandeur. When hidden behind the Revealer, however, Amida is so enshrouded that it takes an eye of enlightenment to discern him existing in his "thouness" in the selfsameness of the Buddha-consciousness. When on the other hand Amida reveals himself in his mysterious way, even the simple-hearted and ignorant are able to come to his presence. When the Buddha was preaching on the Mount of the Holy Vulture, Ānanda, one of his disciples, saw Amida revealed behind the Master; and to Queen Vaidehī, while she was shut up in confinement, appeared the Buddha attended by Ānanda and Maudgalyayana, and when the Buddha finished his sermon on the meditation on Amida, the queen was enabled to see the Land of Bliss as inhabited by Amida. In one sense this seeing Amida may not be such a rare event as one may imagine, but that it is no easy task is readily seen in the fact that even Ānanda, one of the most favoured disciples of the Buddha, could not realise the presence of Amida, "Thou", in the enlightened consciousness of the Buddha, until he participated in the assembly on the Mount of Holy Vulture, where the World-honoured One revealed the secrets of the Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha Sūtra.

Shinran Shōnin quotes from the Sutra: "Ananda said to the World-honoured One; The organs of sense of the World-honoured One are today so composed; the colour of his body is so clear; the majestic splendour of his face is like unto a bright and clean mirror whose reflections are perfectly even; his august form, bright and illumining, infinitely surpasses [anything of the world]; such an extraordinary bright-

ness as I see today I have never yet observed [in the Buddha]. O really it is, O the Great Sage; the thought comes to me that today the World-honoured One dwells in some supernatural state, that today the World-Hero dwells in a state where the Buddhas are dwelling, that today the Eye of the world dwells in the walk of the leader, that today the Great One of the World dwells in the all-surpassing path, that today the Heaven-honoured One practises the virtues of a Tathagata.

“All the Buddhas of the past, future, and present contemplate one another, and may it not be true that the present Buddha is contemplating all the Buddhas?”

“How happens it so that the awe-inspiring splendour of the World-honoured One is such [as I see today]?”

“Thereupon, the World-honoured One said to Ānanda: ‘Did the gods tell you to come and ask this of the Buddha? Or do you ask, through your own spiritual insight, concerning the august countenance [of the Buddha]?’

“Ānanda said to the Buddha; ‘No gods have ever come to me to ask this of you. Through my own understanding alone, I ask you this matter.’

“The Buddha said; ‘Well said, O Ānanda! Excellent indeed is your question! In you awakened is the deepest understanding and the subtlest eloquence, and out of compassion for all sentient beings you ask this spiritual matter.

“The Tathagata in his great unimpeded love feels compassion for the triple world, and the reason why he has appeared on earth is because he wishes to save the ignorant by an enlightening exposition of the truth of religion so that they will be blessed with its real benefits. The difficulty of getting into the presence of a Tathagata who appears on earth only once in innumerable kalpas is like the appearance of the sacred auspicious flowers blooming on a most rare occasion.

“‘In what you now ask, there is much that will do good [to the world], it will enlighten all the gods and men. O Ānanda, let it be understood by you that the highest enlightenment attained by the Tathagata is infinitely beyond the understanding, there is much that will lead and control, its spiritual insight knows no impediment, there is nothing that will obstruct its sway.’”

These passages here quoted in full by Shinran teach in a most exquisite manner the following three facts as regards the teaching of the Shin sect:

1. That the teaching of the Shin sect is based on the enlightened consciousness as it originally dawned upon the mind of the World-honoured One;

2. That the Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha Sūtra reveals this original consciousness of the Buddha;

3. That consequently the teaching of this Sutra was the ultimate object of the Buddha's appearance on earth.

That Shinran, the founder of the Shin sect, took special care in quoting these passages from the Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha, conclusively proves that the foundations of the Shin sect are firmly laid upon the conception of the Buddha-ego which was realised in the enlightened mind of the World-honoured One. The Buddha-ego, that is, the “Thou” aspect of his consciousness from our point of view, is pictured in this Sutra by making the World-honoured One assume a divinely majestic personality, which was recognised by Ānanda in one of his inspired moments. The Buddha was then more than himself, his “ego” reflected the “Thou” dualistically

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1 The translation is done from Sanghavarman's Chinese, text for the basis, of the teaching of the Shin sect is in this and not in the Sanskrit text, Whether this agrees with the latter as restored by Max Müller and published in the “Buddhist Texts from Japan” does not affect the Shin sect in any way. For Max Müller's translation see *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIX. “The Land of Bliss”, PP. 3-4.

and yet perfectly unified in his concrete person. In the case of Queen Vaidehī, however, the "Thou" aspect of the Buddha-ego assumed a separate existence to her vision as Amitābha in the Land of Perfect Happiness. This separation was of course merely apparent and not fundamental. Therefore, in the case of Ānanda, there was the transfiguration of the World-honoured One himself, in whom was concretely exemplified the truth of the self-sameness of the "I" and "Thou" principle in the enlightened mind of the Buddha. When Ānanda realised the mystery of the many in the one and of the one in the many, his understanding went beyond its own limits and he was infinitely blessed. Naturally, the Buddha endorsed all the statements made by Ānanda, saying, "Well said, O Ānanda! Excellent indeed is your question! In you awakened is the deepest understanding and the subtlest eloquence."

It was due to Ānanda's intuitive knowledge that penetrated into the deepest recesses of the Buddha-consciousness where the "I" element was found essentially and inseparably conjoined with the "Thou" element. And therefore the Larger Sukhāvati-Vyūha Sutra which was preached by the World-honoured One to Ānanda and Maitreya must be regarded as the fundamental text-book of the Shin sect, and in this we are to trace the revelation of the Buddha-consciousness which is beyond the ken of our logical understanding. The vision of Vaidehī as described in the Meditation Sutra was possible only after Ānanda's insight into the mystery of Buddhahood. In the Larger Sukhāvati-vyūha which is divided into two parts in our Chinese translation by Sanghavarman, the first part deals with Amida as the Saviour of the world, and his Land of Bliss, while the second deals with the "I" element in us common mortals who are conceived as objects of salvation standing in antithesis to the Buddha-consciousness of the Enlightened One.

In a word, as the philosophical basis of the Shin sect rests on the teaching of the Larger Sukhāvati-Vyūha Sutra, the object of the sect is to make clear the truth of a concrete synthesis of "I" and "Thou" in the enlightened mind of the Buddha, as well as the relationship of the two elements in the universal work of salvation through the love and wisdom of Amida. It is only when this interpenetration and interdependence of the one and the many is successfully grasped, we can all live in the glory of the enlightened Buddha-consciousness.

GESSHO SASAKI

## THE PRAJNA-PARAMITA-HRIDAYA-SUTRA \*

ONE of the most popular and at the same time the most important canonical books adopted by the Far Eastern Buddhists is the *Prajñā-pāramitā-hridaya-sūtra*, in which the doctrine of Śūnyatā (Emptiness) is most concisely stated. As we see below, the whole text does not exceed two printed pages in Sanskrit, and in Chinese it (the shorter one) consists of two hundred and sixty-two characters. This brevity must have helped its wide circulation among the Mahāyānists all over the East. It is recited by them almost on all occasions.

We do not know when the compendious literature belonging to the *Prājñā-pāramitā* class was reduced to this abridged form, for as such the present Sutra is to be regarded. When Nāgārjuna laid the foundation of his Madhyamika philosophy on the doctrine of Śūnyatā as expounded in the *Prajñā-pāramitā* and executed his work in such a masterly and consummate manner as to silence his more conservative brethren in faith, the Sutra must have become the central object of attention and veneration among his followers. But the original Sutra is a great bulky literature supposed to be consisting of 200,000 ślokas in Sanskrit and 600 fasciculi in Chinese, and it is no easy task to peruse the whole work, and it was quite natural that some pious soul would rise and try to reduce it to a far less formidable size. In fact the conception of the Śūnyatā is not a very complicated one to explain, a series of denials in regard to the main theses of Mahāyāna philosophy will suffice. The *Hridaya* was the rational outcome of this movement; the term means "gist", "kernel", or "essence".

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\* In the preparation of this article, especially in the editing of the Sanskrit and the Tibetan texts the writer is indebted to Professors Idzumi and Teramoto.

There is however another interpretation concerning the purport of this epitomised Sutra, which is made by the followers of the Shingon Sect. Seeing what a weighty position is occupied by the Dhāraṇi or Mantra, they would regard the whole Sutra as a Shingon text in which the power of the mystic formula is exalted.

At present we have two Sanskrit texts of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra*, shorter and fuller, both of which were recovered in Japan. The original palm-leaves are said to have been brought to Japan, the shorter one in A.D. 609 and the fuller one in A.D. 850. The earlier ones are the oldest palm-leaf manuscripts still in existence anywhere, in which, according to Max Müller and G. Bühler, we find the earliest specimens of a Sanskrit alphabet for literary purposes. (Cf. *Buddhist Texts from Japan*, edited by Max Müller, Oxford, 1881.) The difference between the fuller and the shorter *Hṛdaya* is that the first has a usual opening passage as in other Sūtras as well as concluding remarks after the Mantra while the shorter Sūtra opens abruptly and ends with the Mantra, the main text alone being preserved intact. The following Sanskrit text which is the fuller one is chiefly based upon Max Müller's recovery of the ancient palm-leaf manuscript found at Horyūji, Nara, Japan; but in two or three places his reconstruction has been revised since his reading is not in accordance with the spirit of the *Prajñā-pāramitā* philosophy. The Tibetan text that follows the Sanskrit is also the fuller Sūtra. Prof. Teramoto through whose kindness the present writer is able to reproduce the Tibetan version has not yet recovered the shorter one.

The English translation below is made from the Chinese shorter *Shingyo* (心經, *Hṛdaya Sūtra*) which was translated by Kumārajīva in A.D. 400. To understand the Sūtra fully requires some knowledge of Mahayana Buddhism especially as presented by Nāgārjuna in his *Mādhyamika-Sūtra*, but

in the present article such technical terms only as are referred to in the text will be briefly explained, leaving a systematic exposition of the Śūnyatā philosophy to one of the coming issues of the present magazine. (The superior figures below refer to the explanations and remarks to be found later.)

#### THE TEXT OF THE HRIDAYA SUTRA

When the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was engaged in the practice of the deep Prajñā-pāramitā, he perceived that the five skandhas<sup>1</sup> were all empty, and he was saved from all misery and suffering<sup>2</sup>. "O Śāriputra," said he, "form is no other than emptiness<sup>3</sup>, and emptiness is no other than form; what is form that is emptiness, and what is emptiness that is form. The same can be said of sensation, thought, confection, and consciousness. O Śāriputra, all things are characterised by emptiness: they are not born, they are not annihilated; they are not tainted, they are not immaculate; they do not increase, they do not decrease; therefore, in emptiness there is no form, no sensation, no thought, confection, consciousness; no eye, ear, nose, body, and mind<sup>4</sup>; no form, sound, odour, taste, touch, and objects<sup>5</sup>; no element of vision, etc., till we come to no element of consciousness<sup>6</sup>; there is no ignorance, nor is there the extinction of ignorance, etc., till we come to there is no old age and death; nor is there the extinction of old age and death<sup>7</sup>; there is no suffering, accumulation, annihilation, path<sup>8</sup>; there is no knowledge, nor is there any obtaining, because there is nothing to be obtained. The Bodhisattva, depending on the Prajñā-pāramitā, has no obstacles in his mind<sup>10</sup>; and because he has no obstacles, he has no fear, and, going beyond all perverted and unreal views, reaches final Nirvana. All Buddhas of past, present, and future, depending on the Prajñā-pāramitā, attain to the highest perfect wisdom. Therefore, we know that the Prajñā-pāramitā is a great divine mantra, a mantra of great intelligence, the



highest mantra, the peerless mantra, which is capable of putting aside all suffering, it is truth and not falsehood. Therefore, I proclaim the mantra of Prajñā-pāramitā<sup>1</sup>. The mantra to be proclaimed then is: “*Gate, gate, pāragate, pārasamgate, bodhi, svāha!*” (O wisdom, gone, gone, gone to the other shore, landed at the other shore, Svāha!)

## NOTES

The opening passage in the fuller text in Sanskrit and Tibetan which is missing in the shorter one is: “Adoration to the All-wise!\* Thus I heard. At one time the World-honoured One dwelt at Rājagriha, on the Mount of Vulture, together with a large number of Bhikshus and a large number of Bodhisattvas. At that time the World-honoured One was absorbed in a samādhi (Meditation) known as Deep Enlightenment. And at the same moment the Great Bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara was practising himself in the deep Prajñāpāramitā.”

The concluding passage runs as follows:

“O Śāriputra, thus should the Bodhisattva practise himself in the deep Prajñāpāramitā. At that moment the World-honoured One rose from the samādhi and gave approval to the Great Bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara, saying: Well done, well done, a noble son! so it is! so should the practise of the deep Prajñāpāramitā be carried on. As it has been preached by you, it is applauded by Tathāgatas and Arhats. Thus spoke the World-honoured One with joyful heart. The venerable Śāriputra and the Great Bodhisattva Āryāvalokiteśvara together with the whole assemblage, and the world of gods, men,

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\* The Tibetan has: “Adoration to the Prajñāpāramitā, which is beyond words, thought, and praise, whose self-nature is, like unto space, neither created nor destroyed, which is a state of wisdom and morality evident to our inner consciousness, and which is the mother of all Excellent Ones of the past, present and future.”

aśuras, and gandharvas all praised the speech of the World-honoured One."

1. The five skandhās (aggregates or elements) are form (*rūpa*), sensation or sense-perception (*vedanā*), thought (*saṃjñā*), confection or conformation (*samskāra*), and consciousness (*viññāna*). The first skandha is the material world or the materiality of things while the remaining four skandhas belong to the mind. *Vedanā* is what we get through our senses; *saṃjñā* corresponds to thought in its broadest sense or that which mind elaborates; *samskāra* is a very difficult term and there is no exact English equivalent, it means something that gives form; and *viññāna* is consciousness, of which six kinds are ordinarily distinguished by scholars: eye-consciousness, ear-consciousness, nose-consciousness, tongue-consciousness, body-consciousness, and mind-consciousness.

2. This last sentence is missing in all the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts.

3. "Empty" (*śūnya*) or "Emptiness" (*śūnyatā*) is one of the most important notions in Mahayana philosophy and at the same time most puzzling for non-Buddhist readers to comprehend. Emptiness does not always mean relativity or phenomenality, but often means absoluteness or transcendentality. When Buddhists declare all things to be empty, they are not advocating a nihilistic view; on the contrary they are assuming an ultimate reality which cannot be subsumed in the categories of logic. With them, to proclaim the conditionality of things is to assert the existence of something altogether unconditioned and transcendent of all determination. *Śūnyatā* may thus often be most appropriately rendered by the Absolute. When the Sutra says that the five skandhas have the character of emptiness, or that in emptiness there is neither creation nor destruction, neither defilement nor immaculacy, etc., the sense is: no limiting qualities are

to be attributed to the Absolute; while it is immanent in all concrete and particular objects, it is itself not at all definable. Universal negation, therefore, in the philosophy of Prajñā is an inevitable outcome.

4. No eye, no ear, etc., refer to the six senses. In Buddhist philosophy, mind (*manovijñāna*) is the special organ or sense for the apprehension of *dharma*, or objects of thought.

5. No form, no sound, etc., are the six qualities of the external world, which become objects of the six senses.

6. "Element of vision, etc., till we come to, no element of consciousness" is a reference to the eighteen *dhatu* or elements of existence, which include six senses, six qualities, and six consciousnesses. "Till we come to" (*yāvat* in Sanskrit, and 乃至 in Chinese) is quite frequently met with in Buddhist literature to avoid repetition of well-known subjects. These classifications may seem somewhat confusing and overlapping.

7. "There is no ignorance," etc., is the wholesale denial of the Twelve Chains of Causation (*Nidāna*), which are ignorance (*avidyā*), confection (*samskāra*) consciousness (*vijñāna*), name and form (*nāmarūpa*), six sense-organs (*śaḍ-āyatana*), contact (*sparsa*), sense-perception (*vedanā*), desire (*trishna*), attachment (*upādāna*), being (*bhava*), birth (*jāti*), and old age and death (*jarāmarana*). These Chains have been a subject of much discussion even among Buddhist scholars. *Pratītyasamutpāda* is the technical term in Sanskrit for the Chain of Causation.

8. The allusion is of course to the Fourfold Noble Truth (*satya*): 1. Life is suffering; 2. Because of the accumulation (*Samudaya*) of evil karma; 3. The cause of suffering can be annihilated (*nirodha*); 4. And for this there is the path (*mārga*).

9. *Āsṛitya* is rendered by Max Müller as "approaching," which in the Chinese translation is 依...故, "depend-

ing upon," or "relying on," or more correctly "because of one's dependence." Therefore, in this case as well as in the following passage, the context assumes quite a different signification from that given by Max Müller.

10. Max Müller here has: "A man who has approached the Prajñā-pāramitā of the Bodhisattva dwells enveloped in consciousness." But this is evidently not the reading generally adopted by the Mahayanists, his reconstruction of the palm-leaf manuscripts is against the spirit of the Śūnyatā philosophy; besides, as was pointed out by Prof. Ryōsaburo Sakaki, of the Kyoto Imperial University, the original text does not necessarily warrant the reading of Max Müller, who as we know was more of a philologist than a Buddhist philosopher. Our Sanskrit text in the following pages gives our own reading.

11. The question is whether we regard Prajñā-pāramitā as the title of the Sūtra or as designating the prefect realisation of Prajñā. When we adopt the first interpretation, the mantra itself is the realisation or that which leads us to the final goal. The Tibetan version, according to Prof. Yenga Teramoto, has *Prajñā* in the genitive as in one of the Japanese Sanskrit MSS. and not in the locative as Max Müller and our own text here have.

In the following pages we reproduce the Sanskrit and the Tibetan text of the fuller *Hridaya Sūtra*. For the setting of the Sanskrit and the Tibetan type, acknowledgment is due to Mr Kiyoshi Kato, who, together with Mr Genjo Adachi, is working on the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, now speedily approaching completion.

## ॥ नमः सर्वज्ञाय ॥

एवं मया श्रुतम् । एकस्मिन्समये भगवान्नाजगृहे विहरति स्म गृध्रकूटे पर्वते महता भिक्षुसंघेन सार्धं महता च बोधिसत्त्वसंघेन । तेन खलु समयेन भगवान्गम्भीरावसंबोधं नाम समाधिं समापन्नः । तेन च समयेनार्यावलोकितेश्वरो बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्वो गम्भीरायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां चर्यां चरमाण एवं व्यवलोकयति स्म । पञ्च स्कन्धाः । तांश्च स्वभावशून्यान्यवलोकयति । अथायुष्माञ्छारिपुत्रो बुद्धानुभावेनार्यावलोकितेश्वरं बोधिसत्त्वमेतदवोचत् । यः कश्चित्कुलपुत्रो गम्भीरायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां चर्यां चर्तुकामः कथं शिक्षितव्यः । एवमुक्त आर्यावलोकितेश्वरो बोधिसत्त्वो महासत्त्वो आयुष्मन्तं शारिपुत्रमेतदवोचत् । यः कश्चिच्छारिपुत्रकुलपुत्रो वा कुलदुहिता वा गम्भीरायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां चर्यां चर्तुकामस्तेनैवं व्यवलोकयितव्यम् । पञ्च स्कन्धाः । तांश्च स्वभावशून्यान्समनुपश्यति स्म । रूपं शून्यता शून्यतैव रूपम् । रूपान्न पृथक् शून्यता शून्यताया न पृथग्रूपम् । यद्रूपं सा शून्यता या शून्यता तद्रूपम् । एवं वेदनासंज्ञासंस्कारविज्ञानानि च शून्यता । एवं शारिपुत्र सर्वधर्माः शून्यतालक्षणा अनुत्पन्ना अनिरुद्धा असमला न विमला अनूना असंपूर्णाः । तस्मात्तर्हि शारिपुत्र शून्यतायां न रूपं न वेदना न संज्ञा न संस्कारा न विज्ञानम् । न चक्षूर्न श्रोत्रं न घ्राणं न जिह्वा न

स्मष्टव्यं न धर्माः । न चक्षुर्धातुर्यावन्न मनोधातुर्न धर्म-  
धातुर्न मनोविज्ञानधातुः ॥

न विद्या नाविद्या न क्षयो यावन्न जरामरणं न  
जरामरणक्षयः । न दुःखसमुदयनिरोधमार्गा न ज्ञानं  
न प्राप्तिर्नाप्राप्तिः । तस्माच्छारिपुत्र अप्राप्तित्वेन बोधि-  
सत्त्वानां प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रित्य विहरत्यचित्तावरणः ।  
चित्तावरणनास्तित्वादवस्तो विपर्ययासातिक्रान्तो निष्ठनि-  
र्वाणः । अर्धव्यवस्थिताः सर्वबुद्धाः प्रज्ञापारमितामाश्रि-  
त्यानुत्तरां सम्यक्संबोधिमभिसंबुद्धाः । तस्माज्ज्ञातव्यः  
प्रज्ञापारमितामहामन्त्रो महाविद्यामन्त्रो ऽनुत्तरमन्त्रो  
ऽसमसममन्त्रः सर्वदुःखप्रशमनमन्त्रः सत्यममिथ्यत्वात् प्र-  
ज्ञापारमितायामुक्तो मन्त्रः । तद्यथा । गते गते पारगते  
पारसंगते बोधि स्वाहा ॥

एवं शारिपुत्र गम्भीरायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां चर्या-  
यां शिक्षितव्यं बोधिसत्त्वेन । अथ खलु भगवान्तस्मा-  
त्समाधेर्व्युत्थायार्यावलोकितेश्वरस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य साधु-  
कारमदात् । साधु साधु कुलपुत्र एवमेतत्कुलपुत्र ।  
एवमेतद्गम्भीरायां प्रज्ञापारमितायां चर्यं चर्तव्यं यथा  
त्वया निर्दिष्टमनुमोद्यते तथागतैरर्हद्भिः । इदमवोचद्भ-  
गवानानन्दमना आयुष्माञ्छारिपुत्र आर्यावलोकितेश्व-  
रश्च बोधिसत्त्वः सा च सर्वावती पर्वत्सदेवमानुषासु-  
रगन्धर्वश्च लोको भगवतो भाषितमभ्यनन्दन् ।

॥ इति प्रज्ञापारमिताहृदयसूत्रं समाप्तम् ॥

༄། ཤེས་རབ་སྒྲིང་པོ་བཞུགས་སོ།

སྒྲུལ་བམམ་བཟོད་མེད་ཤེས་རབ་པ་རོལ་ཕྱིན།

།མ་སྒྲིམ་མ་འགགས་ནམ་མཁའི་ངོ་བོ་ཉིད།

།སོ་སོར་རང་རིག་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྒྲིང་ཡུལ་བ།

།དུས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་པའི་ཡུམ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆོལ་ཡོ།

༄། རྒྱ་གར་སྐད་དུ། རྒྱ་ག་པ་ཉི་ཤ་རྩ་ལྔ་ར་མི་དྲ་ཉི་ད་ཡ།  
 བོད་སྐད་དུ། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་མ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་པ་རོལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་སྒྲིང་  
 པོའོ། །བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་མ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་པ་རོལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆོལ་  
 ཡོ། །།འདི་སྐད་བདག་གིས་བྲོས་པའི་དུས་གཅིག་ན། བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་  
 རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་བྱ་ཆོད་ཕྱང་པོའི་རི་ལ་དག་སྒོང་གི་དག་འདུན་ཆེན་པོ་དང་།  
 ཕྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའི་དག་འདུན་ཆེན་པོ་དང་ཐབས་གཅིག་དུ་བཞུགས་ཏེ།  
 དེའི་ཆོ་བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཐབ་མོ་སྤང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ནམ་གངས་ཀྱི་  
 ཉིང་ངོ་འཛིན་ལ་སྒྲོམས་པར་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཡང་དེའི་ཆོ་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་  
 དཔའ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོ་འཕགས་པ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་ཕྱག་ཤེས་  
 རབ་ཀྱི་པ་རོལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ཐབ་མོའི་སྒྲིང་པ་ཉིད་ལ་ནམ་པར་ལྟ་ཞིང་། ཕྱང་  
 པོ་ལྟ་པོ་དེ་དག་ལ་ཡང་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་སྒྲིང་པར་ནམ་པར་བལྟའོ། །དེ་ནས་  
 སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་མཐུས་ཆོད་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཤུ་རེའི་བུས་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་  
 སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོ་འཕགས་པ་སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་ཕྱག་ལ་འདི་སྐད་

ཅེས་སྒྲུབ་མོ། །རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་གང་ལ་ལ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་པ་རོལ་དུ་བྱིན་པ་ཟེ་བ་  
 མོའི་སྤྱད་པ་སྤྱོད་པར་འདོད་པ་དེས་ཅི་རྣམ་བསྟན་པར་བྱ། དེ་རྒྱད་ཅེས་  
 སྒྲུབ་པ་དང་། བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོ་འཕགས་པ་  
 སྤྱན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་ཕྱག་གིས་ཆོ་དང་ལུན་པ་ཤུ་རིའི་བྱ་ལ་འདི་རྒྱད་  
 ཅེས་སྒྲུབ་མོ། །ཤུ་རིའི་བྱ་རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་འཕ་རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་མོ་གང་ལ་ལ་ཤེས་  
 རབ་ཀྱི་པ་རོལ་དུ་བྱིན་པ་ཟེ་བ་མོའི་སྤྱད་པ་སྤྱོད་པར་འདོད་པ་དེས། འདི་  
 རྣམ་ལྔ་པར་རྟ་བར་བྱ་སྟེ། བྱང་པོ་ལྷ་པོ་དེ་དག་ཀྱང་རང་བཞིན་གྱིས་  
 རྟོང་པར་ཡང་དག་པར་རྗེས་སྤྱོད་བཟོའོ། །གཟུགས་རྟོང་པའོ། རྟོང་པ་ཉིད་  
 ཀྱང་གཟུགས་མོ། གཟུགས་ལས་ཀྱང་རྟོང་པ་ཉིད་གཞན་མ་ཡིན་ནོ། རྟོང་  
 པ་ཉིད་ལས་ཀྱང་གཟུགས་གཞན་མ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་ཆོར་བ་དང་།  
 འདུ་ཤེས་དང་། འདུ་བྱེད་དང་། རྣམ་པར་ཤེས་པ་རྣམས་རྟོང་པའོ།  
 ཤུ་རིའི་བྱ་དེ་རྟ་བས་ན་ཆོས་བམས་ཅད་རྟོང་པ་ཉིད་དེ། མཆོན་ཉིད་མེད་  
 པ། མ་སྦྱིས་པ། མ་འགགས་པ། ཇི་མ་མེད་པ། ཇི་མ་དང་བྲལ་བ་  
 མེད་པ། ཇི་བ་མེད་པ། གང་བ་མེད་པའོ། །ཤུ་རིའི་བྱ་དེ་རྟ་བས་ན།  
 རྟོང་པ་ཉིད་ལ་གཟུགས་མེད། ཆོར་བ་མེད། འདུ་ཤེས་མེད། འདུ་  
 བྱེད་མེད། རྣམ་པར་ཤེས་པ་མེད། མིག་མེད། རྩ་བ་མེད། ལྷ་མེད།  
 ལྷུ་མེད། ལུས་མེད། ཡིད་མེད། གཟུགས་མེད། སྤྱུ་མེད། ཇི་  
 མེད། རོ་མེད། རེག་བྱ་མེད། ཆོས་མེད་དོ། མིག་གི་ཁམས་མེད་



པ་ནམ། ཡིད་ཀྱི་ཁམས་མེད། ཡིད་ཀྱི་ནམ་པར་ཤེས་པའི་ཁམས་ཀྱི་བར་  
 ཏུ་ཡང་མེད་དོ། མ་རིག་པ་མེད། མ་རིག་པ་ཟད་པ་མེད་པ་ནམ། ཁ་  
 ཤི་མེད། ཁ་ཤི་ཟད་པའི་བར་ཏུ་ཡང་མེད་དོ། དེ་བཞིན་དུ་སྐྱུག་བསྐྱེད་  
 པ་དང་། ཀྱན་འབྱུང་བ་དང་། འགོག་པ་དང་། ལམ་མེད། ཡི་ཤེས་  
 མེད། ཐོབ་པ་མེད། མ་ཐོབ་པ་ཡང་མེད་དོ། ལྷ་རིའི་བྱ་དེ་ལྟ་བུས་ན།  
 བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ནམས་ཐོབ་པ་མེད་པའི་ཕྱིར། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་པ་རོལ་  
 ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ཅིང་གནས་ཏེ། སེམས་ལ་སྒྲིབ་པ་མེད་ཅིང་། སྐྱག་པ་  
 མེད་དེ། ཕྱིན་ཅི་ལོག་པ་ཤིན་ཏུ་འདས་ནམ། བྱང་ན་ལས་འདས་པ་ཆེན་  
 པོའི་མཐར་ཕྱིན་ནོ། །དུས་གསུམ་དུ་ནམ་པར་བཞུགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་པ་རོལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནམ། སྒྲ་ན་  
 མེད་པ་ཡང་དག་པར་ཆོགས་པའི་བྱང་ཆུབ་དུ་མངོན་པར་ཆོགས་པར་སངས་  
 རྒྱས་སོ། །དེ་ལྟ་བུས་ན་བདེན་པར་ཤེས་པར་བྱས་ཏེ། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་པ་  
 རོལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་སྐྱགས། རིག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་སྐྱགས། སྒྲ་ན་མེད་པའི་  
 སྐྱགས། མི་མཉམ་པ་དང་མཉམ་པའི་སྐྱགས། སྐྱུག་བསྐྱེད་ཐམས་ཅད་  
 རབ་དུ་ཞི་བར་བྱེད་པའི་སྐྱགས། མི་བརྒྱན་པ་དང་བདེན་པར་ཤེས་བྱས་ཏེ།  
 ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་པ་རོལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་སྐྱགས། སྐྱས་པ། ཏ་དུ་བྲ། ཞོ་གཏེ་  
 གཏེ་ལྷ་ར་གཏེ་ལྷ་ར་སྤྲ་གཏེ། ལྷོ་རྟེན་ཏུ། །ལྷ་རིའི་བྱ་བྱང་ཆུབ་  
 སེམས་དཔའ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོས། དེ་ལྟར་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་པ་རོལ་དུ་ཕྱིན་

བ་ཟབ་མོ་ལ་བསྐྱབ་པར་བྱའོ། དེ་ནས་བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱིས་ཉིང་རེ་འཛིན་  
 ལས་བཞེངས་ཏེ། བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོ་འཕགས་པ་  
 ལྷན་རས་གཟིགས་དབང་ལྷག་ལ་ལགས་སོ། ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བྱིན་ནས། ལགས་  
 སོ་ལགས་སོ། རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱ་དེ་དེ་བཞིན་ནོ། དེ་དེ་བཞིན་ཏེ། ཅི་ལྟར་  
 ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་བརྟན་པ་དེ་བཞིན་ཏུ། ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་པ་རོལ་དུ་བྱིན་པ་ཟབ་མོ་  
 ལྷན་པར་བྱས་ཏེ། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ནམས་ཀྱང་རྗེས་སྤྱི་རང་ངོ་།  
 བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱིས་དེ་མཇུག་ཅེས་བཀའ་སྤྱུལ་ནས། ཆོ་དང་ལྷན་པ་ལྷ་  
 རིའི་བྱ་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཆེན་པོ་འཕགས་པ་ལྷན་  
 རས་གཟིགས་དབང་ལྷག་དང་། ཐམས་ཅད་དང་ལྷན་པའི་འཁོར་དེ་དག་  
 དང་། ལྷ་དང་། མི་དང་། ལྷ་མ་ཡིན་དང་། རྩི་ཟར་བཅས་པའི་  
 འཛིག་རྟེན་ཡི་རང་ཏེ། བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱིས་གསུངས་པ་ལ་མངོན་པར་  
 བརྟན་དོ། ། བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་མ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་པ་རོལ་དུ་བྱིན་པའི་སྟོང་  
 པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པའི་མདོ་ཚིགས་སོ། །

## THE TEN COW-HERDING PICTURES

THE attainment of Buddhahood is what is aimed at by all pious Buddhists, though not necessarily during this one earthly life, and Zen as one of the Mahayana schools, also teaches that all our efforts must be directed towards this supreme end. While most of the other schools distinguish so many steps of spiritual development and insist on one's going through all the grades successively in order to reach the consummation of the Buddhist discipline, Zen ignores all these and boldly declares that when one sees into the inmost nature of one's own being, one instantly becomes a Buddha, and that there is no necessity of climbing up each rung of perfection through eternal cycles of transmigration. This has been one of the most characteristic tenets of Zen ever since the coming-east of Bodhi-Dharma in the sixth century. "See into thy own nature and be a Buddha," has thus grown the watchword of the Sect. And this "seeing" was not the outcome of much learning or speculation, nor was it due to the grace of the supreme Buddha conferred upon his ascetic followers only; but mainly it grew out of the special training of the mind prescribed by the Zen masters. This being so, Zen could not very well recognise any form of gradation in the attainment of Buddhahood. The "seeing into one's nature" was an instant act. There could not be any process in it which would permit scales or steps of development.

But in point of fact where the time-element rules supreme, this was not necessarily the case. As long as our relative minds are made to comprehend one thing after another by degrees and in succession and not all at once and simultaneously, it is impossible not to speak of a progress. Even Zen as something possible of demonstration in one way or another must be subjected to the limitations of time. That is to say,

there are after all grades of development in its study; and some must be said to have more deeply, more penetratingly realised the truth of Zen. In itself the truth may transcend all form of limitation, but when it is to be realised in the human mind, its psychological laws are to be observed. The "seeing into thy nature" must admit degrees of clearness. Transcendentally, we are all Buddhas just as we are, ignorant and sinful if you like; but when we come down to this practical life, pure idealism has to give away to a more particular and palpable form of activity. This side of Zen is known as its "constructive" aspect, in contradistinction to its "all-sweeping" aspect. And here Zen fully recognises degrees of spiritual development among its followers, as the truth reveals itself gradually in their minds until the "seeing into one's nature" is perfected.

Technically speaking, Zen belongs to the group of Buddhist doctrines known as "discrete" or "discontinuous" or "abrupt" (頓, *tun* in Chinese) in opposition to "continuous" or "gradual" (漸, *chien*); and naturally the opening of the mind, according to Zen, comes upon one as a matter of discrete happening and not as the result of a gradual, continuous development whose every step can be traced and analysed. The coming of *satori* is not like the rising of the sun gradually bringing things to light, but it is like the freezing of water which takes place abruptly. There is no middle or twilight condition before the mind is opened to the truth, in which there prevails a sort of neutral zone, or a state of intellectual indifference. As we have already observed in several instances of *satori*, the transition from ignorance to enlightenment is so abrupt, the common cur, as it were, suddenly turns into a golden-haired lion. Zen is an ultra-discrete wing of Buddhism. But this holds true only when the truth of Zen itself is considered, apart from its relation to the human mind in which it is disclosed. Inasmuch as the truth is true

only when it is considered in the light it gives to the mind and cannot be thought of at all independent of the latter, we may speak of its gradual and progressive realisation in us. The psychological laws exist here as elsewhere. Therefore, when Buddha-Dharma was ready to leave China, he said that Dōfuku (道副) got the skin, the nun Sōji (總持) got the flesh, and Dōiku (道育) the bone, while Yeka (慧可) had the marrow (or essence) of Zen.\* Nangaku (南嶽懷讓) who succeeded the Sixth Patriarch had six accomplished disciples, but their attainments differed in depth. He compared them with various parts of the body, and said, "You all have testified my body, but each has grasped a part of it. The one who has my eye-brows is the master of manners; the second who has my eyes, knows how to look around; the third who has my ears, understands how to listen to reasoning; the fourth who has my nose is well versed in

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\* After nine years' stay in China Dharma, wishing to go back to India, ordered his disciples to come to him, and said, "The time is coming [for me to depart]. Let me hear what you each have attained [in the Tao]." Dōfuku then answered, "According to my view, it is neither to cling to letters nor to keep away from them, and there is the Tao in operation." Said the patriarch, "You have my skin."

Next came out the nun Soji, saying, "As I understand, it is like unto Ananda's seeing the Buddha-field of Aksobhya. To see it just once, and not to repeat, -[This is my faith]." "You have my flesh," was Dharma's verdict.

Dōiku said, "The four elements (*dhātu*) are empty in their essence, and the five aggregates (*skandha*) have no reality; and as I see it, there are no particular objects to be attained." "You have my bone."

Lastly, Yeka made bows to the patriarch and stood still in his place. Said the master, "You have my marrow."

The above is as stated in the history of Zen such as *Dentoroku* (傳燈錄), *Gotō-yegen* (五燈會元), etc. Some say that the incident has no historical authority. That may be so, but the fact that it has been incorporated in the history and generally accepted as true by most Zen masters, proves that at least theoretically there is such a gradation in the attainment of the truth of Zen.

the act of breathing; the fifth who has my tongue, is a great arguer; and finally the one who has my mind knows the past and the present. This gradation was impossible if "seeing into one's nature" alone was considered; for the seeing is one indivisible act, allowing no stages of transition. It is however no contradiction of the principle of *satori* as we have repeatedly asserted to say that in fact there is a progressive realisation in the seeing, leading one deeper and deeper into the truth of Zen, finally culminating in one's complete identification with it.

In this respect, the Zen masters are just like the Christian or Mohammedan mystics, they mark the stages of spiritual development, and the "kō-ans" are arranged according to the requirements of each stage. Some Sufis describe the "seven valleys" \* to traverse in order to reach the court of Simurgh where the mystic "birds" find themselves gloriously effaced and yet fully reflected in the Awful Presence of themselves. The "seven valleys" are: 1. the Valley of Search; 2. the Valley of Love, which has no limits; 3. the Valley of Knowledge; 4. the Valley of Independence; 5. the Valley of Unity, pure and simple; 6. the Valley of Amazement, and 7. the Valley of Poverty and Annihilation, beyond which there is no advance. According to St. Teresa, there are four degrees of mystic life: Meditation, Quiet, a numberless intermediate degree, and the Orison of Unity; while Hugh of St. Victor has also his own four degrees: Meditation, Soliloquy, Consideration, and Rapture. There are other Christian mystics having their own three or four steps of "ardent love" or of "contemplation." (Underhill—*Mysticism*, p. 369.)

Lieh-tzu (列子), the Chinese philosopher of Taoism, describes in the following passage certain marked stages of development in the practice of Tao:

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\* According to Fariduddin Attar, A.D. 1119-1229, of Khorassan, Persia. Cf. Claud Field's *Mystics and Saints of Islam*, p. 123 et seq.

"The teacher of Lieh-tzu was Lao-shang-shih, and his friend Pai-kao-tzu. When Lieh-tzu was well advanced in the teachings of these two philosophers, he came home riding on the wind. Yin-sheng heard of this, and came to Lieh-tzu to be instructed. Yin-sheng neglected his own household for several months. He never lost opportunities to ask the master to instruct him in the art [of riding on the wind]; he asked ten times, and was refused each time. Yin-sheng grew impatient and wanted to depart. Lieh-tzu did not urge him to stay. For several months Yin-sheng kept himself away from the master, but did not feel any easier in his mind. He came over to Lieh-tzu again. Asked the master, 'Why this constant coming back and forth?' Yin-sheng replied, 'The other day, I, Chang Tai, wished to be instructed by you, but you refused to teach me, which I did not naturally like. I feel, however, no grudge against you now; hence my presence here again.' 'I thought the other time,' said the master, 'you understood it all. But seeing now what a commonplace mortal you are, I will tell you what I have learned under the master. Sit down and listen! It was three years after I went to my master Lao-shang and my friend Pai-kao that my mind began to cease thinking of right and wrong, and my tongue talking of gain and loss, whereby he favoured me with just a glance. At the end of five years, my mind again began to think of right and wrong, and my tongue to talk about gain and loss. Then for the first time the master relaxed his expression and gave me a smile. At the end of seven years I just let my mind think of whatever it pleased and there was no more question of right and wrong; I just let my tongue talk of whatever it pleased, and there was no more question of gain and loss. Then for the first time the master beckoned me to sit beside him. At the end of nine years, just letting my mind think of whatever it pleased and letting my tongue talk of whatever it pleased, I was not con-

scious whether I or anybody else was in the right or wrong, whether I or anybody else gained or lost; nor was I aware of the old master's being my teacher or the young Pai-kao's being my friend. Both inwardly and outwardly I was advanced. It was then that the eye was like the ear, and the ear like the nose, and the nose like the mouth; for they were all one and the same. The mind was in rapture, the form was dissolved, and the bones and flesh all thawed away; and I did not know how the frame supported itself and what the feet were treading upon. I gave myself away to the wind, eastward or westward, like leaves of a tree or like a dry chaff. Was the wind riding on me? or was I riding on the wind? I did not know either way.

"Your stay with the master has not covered much space of time, and you are already feeling grudge against him. The air will not hold even a fragment of your body, nor will the earth support one member of yours. How then could you ever think of treading on empty space and riding the wind?" Yin-sheng was much ashamed and kept quiet for some time, not uttering even a word."

During the Sung dynasty a Zen teacher called Sëkkyo (石鞏) illustrated stages of spiritual progress by a gradual purification or whitening of the cow until she herself disappears. But the pictures, six in number, are lost now. Those that are still in existence, illustrating the end of Zen discipline in a more thorough and consistent manner come from the ingenious brush of Kakuan (廓庵), a monk belonging to the Rinzai school. His are in fact a revision and perfection of those of his predecessor. The pictures are ten in number, and each has a short introduction in prose followed by a commentary verse. Both are translated below.\* There are some other masters who composed stanzas on the same subjects using the same rhymes of the first commentator.

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\* The poem is printed underneath each picture.



The cow has been worshipped by the Indians from very early periods of their history. The allusions are found in various connections in the Buddhist scriptures. In a Hinayāna sutra entitled "On the Herding of Cattle," eleven ways of properly attending them are described. In a similar manner a monk ought to observe eleven things properly in order to become a good Buddhist; and if he fails to do so, just like the cow-herd who neglects his duties, he will be condemned. The eleven ways of properly attending cattle are: 1. To know the colours; 2. To know the signs; 3. Brushing; 4. Dressing the wounds; 5. Making smoke; 6. Walking the right path; 7. Tenderly feeling for them; 8. Fording the streams; 9. Pasturing; 10. Milking; 11. Selecting. Some of the items cited here are not quite intelligible. (See also a Sutra in the Anguttara Agama bearing the same title, which is evidently another translation of the same text. Also compare "The Herdsman, I," in *The First Fifty Discourses of Gotama the Buddha*, Vol. II, by Bhikkhu Śīlācāra. Leipzig, 1913. This is a partial translation of the Majjhima Nikāya of the Pali Tripitaka. The eleven items as enumerated in the Chinese version are just a little differently given. Essentially, of course, they are the same in both texts. A Buddhist dictionary called *Daizo Hossu*, 大藏法數, gives reference on the subject to the great Mahayana work of Nāgārjuna, the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitī-Śāstra*, but so far I have not been able to identify the passage.)

The Zen masters have followed the example and make frequent references to the cow in their sermons and dialogues. The "Ten Cow-herding Pictures" showing the upward steps of spiritual training is doubtless one of such instances. In the following the explanatory introductions in prose to the pictures are printed together in order while the verse portion appears underneath each picture.

## THE TEN STAGES IN SPIRITUAL COW-HERDING

1. *Looking for the Cow.* She has never gone astray, and what is the use of searching for her? We are not on intimate terms with her because we have contrived against our inmost nature. She is lost, for we have ourselves been led out of the way through the deluding senses. The home is growing farther away, and byways and crossways are ever confusing. Desire for gain and fear of loss burn like fire; ideas of right and wrong shoot up like a phalanx.

2. *Seeing the Traces of the Cow.* By the aid of the Sutras and by inquiring into the doctrines, he has come to understand something, he has found the traces. He now knows that things, however multitudinous, are of one substance, and that the objective world is a reflection of the self. Yet, he is unable to distinguish what is good from what is not, his mind is still confused as to truth and falsehood. As he has not yet entered the gate, he is provisionally said to have noticed the traces.

3. *Seeing the Cow.* He finds the way through the sound, he sees into the origin of things, and all his senses are in harmonious order. In all his activities, it is manifestly present. It is like the salt in water and the glue in colour. [It is there though not separably distinguishable.] When the eye is properly directed, he will find that it is no other thing than himself.

4. *Catching the Cow.* After getting lost long in the wilderness, he has at last found the cow and laid hand on her. But owing to the overwhelming pressure of the objective world, the cow is found hard to keep under control. She constantly longs for sweet grasses. The wild nature is still unruly, and altogether refuses to be broken in. If he wishes to have her completely in subjection, he ought to use the whip freely.

5. *Herding the Cow.* When a thought moves, another

follows, and then another—there is thus awakened an endless train of thoughts. Through enlightenment all this turns into truth; but falsehood asserts itself when confusion prevails. Things oppress us not because of an objective world, but because of a self-deceiving mind. Do not get the nose-string loose, hold it tight, and allow yourself no indulgence.

6. *Coming Home on the Cow's Back.* The struggle is over; gain and loss, he is no more concerned with. He hums a rustic tune of the woodman, he sings simple songs of the village-boy. Saddling himself on the cow's back, his eyes are fixed at things not of the earth, earthy. Even if he is called to, he will not turn his head; however enticed he will no more be kept back.

7. *The Cow Forgotten, Leaving the Man Alone.* Things are one and the cow is symbolic. When you know that what you need is not the snare or set-net but the hare or fish, it is like gold separated from the dross, it is like the moon rising out of the clouds. The one ray of light serene and penetrating shines even before days of creation.

8. *The Cow and the Man Both Gone out of Sight.* All confusion is set aside, and sereneness alone prevails; even the idea of holiness does not obtain. He does not linger about where the Buddha is, and as to where there is no Buddha he speedily passes on. When there exists no form of dualism, even a thousand-eyed one fails to detect a loophole. A holiness before which birds offer flowers is but a farce.\*

9. *Returning to the Origin, back to the Source.* From the very beginning, pure and immaculate, he has never been

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\* It will be interesting to note what a mystic philosopher would say about this: "A man shall become truly poor and as free from his creature will as he was when he was born. And I say to you, by the eternal truth, that as long as ye desire to fulfil the will of God, and have any desire after eternity and God, so long are ye not truly poor, He alone hath true spiritual poverty who wills nothing, knows nothing, desires nothing."—(From Eckhart as quoted by Inge in *Light, Life, and Love*.)

affected by defilement. He calmly watches the growth and decay of things with form, while himself abiding in the immovable serenity of non-assertion. When he does not identify himself with magic-like transformations, what has he to do with artificialities of self-discipline? The water flows blue, the mountain towers green. Sitting alone, he observes things undergoing changes.

10. *Entering the City with Bliss-bestowing Hands.* His humble cottage door is closed, and the wisest know him not. No glimpses of his inner life are to be caught; for he goes on his own way without following the steps of the ancient sages. Carrying a gourd he goes out into the market, leaning against a stick he comes home. He is found in company with wine-bibbers and butchers, he and they are all converted into Buddhas.



## I

Alone in the wilderness, lost in the jungle, he is searching, searching !  
The swelling waters, far-away mountains, and unending path ;  
Exhausted and in despair, he knows not where to go,  
He only hears the evening cicadas singing in the maple-woods.



## II

By the water, under the trees, scattered are the traces of the lost:  
Fragrant woods are growing thick—did he find the way?  
However remote, over the hills, and far away, the cow may wander,  
Her nose reaches the heavens and none can conceal it.



## III

Yonder perching on a branch a nightingale sings cheerfully ;  
 The sun is warm, the soothing breeze blows through the willows green on the  
 bank ;  
 The cow is there all by herself, nowhere is there room to hide herself ;  
 The splendid head decorated with stately horns, what painter can reproduce her ?



## IV

With the energy of his whole soul, he has at last taken hold of the cow:  
 But how wild her will, ungovernable her power!  
 At times she struts up a plateau,  
 When lo! she is lost in a misty unpenetrable mountain-pass.





## V

Never let yourself be separated from the whip and the string,  
Lest she should wander away into a world of defilement :  
When she is properly tended, she will grow pure and docile,  
Without chain, nothing binding, she will by herself follow you.



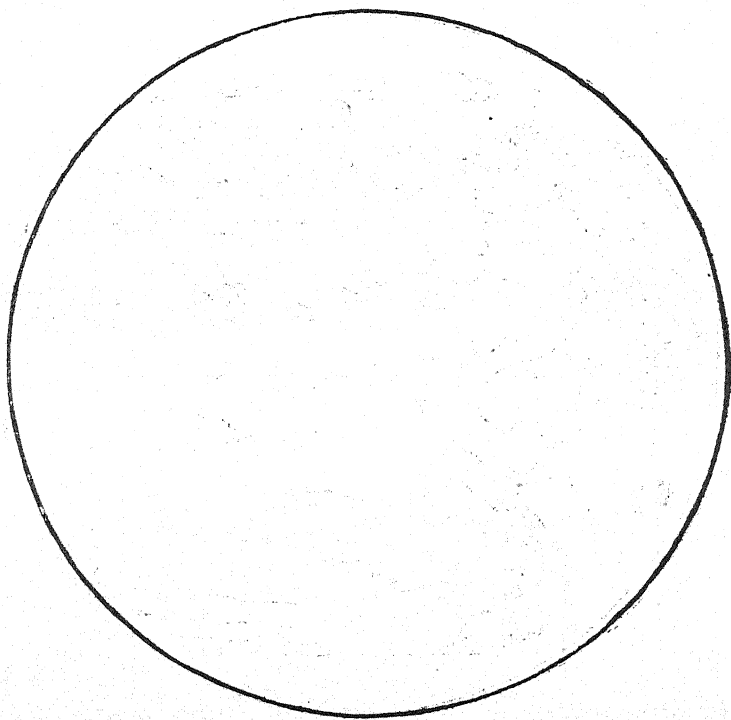
## VI

Riding the cow he leisurely wends his way home;  
 Enveloped in the evening mist, how tunefully the flute vanishes away!  
 Singing a ditty, beating time, his heart is filled with a joy indescribable!  
 That he is now one of those who know, need it be told?



## VII

Riding on the cow he is at last back in his home,  
Where lo! there is no more the cow, and how serenely he sits all alone!  
Though the red sun is high up in the sky, he seems to be still quietly asleep,  
Under a straw-thatched roof are his whip and rope idly lying beside him.



## VIII

All is empty, the whip, the rope, the man, and the cow:

Who has ever surveyed the vastness of heaven?

Over the furnace burning ablaze, not a flake of snow falls:

When this state of things obtains, manifest is the spirit of the ancient master



## IX

To return to the origin, to be back to the source—already a false step this !  
Far better to remain, straightaway and without much ado, blind and deaf,  
Sitting within the hut he takes no cognisance of things outside,  
Behold the water flowing on—whither nobody knows ; and those flowers red  
and fresh—for whom are they ?



## X

Bare-chested and bare-footed, he comes out into the marketplace;  
He is covered with mud, covered with ashes, and how broadly he smiles!  
No need of resorting to the miraculous power of the gods,  
He touches, and lo! the dead trees come into full bloom.

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

## IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES

### II. KIYOMIDZU

**K** IYOMIDZU is not only a popular Buddhist temple but it is one of the most picturesquely situated in Kyoto. When the maple turns to crimson, the grounds of Kiyomidzu present a beautiful sight. He who then strolls in Kiyomidzu grounds not only refreshes his artistic sense but can study many aspects of popular Buddhism. It is one of the twenty-five places sacred to Hōnen Shōnin and is also one of the thirty-three sacred to Kwannon, the goddess of mercy. Two great Korean lions guard the entrance and at each side of the gate are two great Ni-o. At the entrance of every great Buddhist temple we find these guardian Ni-o. Ni-o means "two kings" and the two kings are the great Brahmanic gods, Brahma and Indra. They are the keepers of the temple gates and are colossal figures with great muscles and fierce expression. They are clad only with a loin cloth and flowing scarf. They are placed on each side of the temple entrance enclosed in a kind of cage. The one on the right, Indra painted green and with open mouth as if uttering "Ah!", represents the *Yo* or male principle. Brahma painted green with closed lips as if uttering "Um!" represents the *Yin* or female principle. Indra represents command and Brahma resolve; Indra, the outgoing breath, Brahma the in-drawing. Pilgrims address prayers to the gods and cast little paper spit balls at them and believe that if the pellets stick to the figures, the prayers will be heard. Some of the Ni-o statues are very splendid.

After passing by these great gate guardians we emerge into a temple compound, and after climbing up stone steps, we find a pagoda dedicated to Dainichi (Vairochana-Buddha) and some small temple buildings, the library, and the abbots'

residence; and from the balustrade there is a magnificent view of the city of Kyoto.

The main temple is large, one hundred and ninety feet long, built in the so-called palace style, and it is dedicated to Kwannon, the image of which is shown only once in thirty-three years. It is not so much the altar within as the great platform without or stage for the holy dance that claims attention, for it projects out over a deep gorge crowded with maple-trees, fifty-four feet above the ground. According to tradition, it was while standing on this platform that there arose in the mind of Hideyoshi a vision of the conquest of Korea and China. In ancient times there were frequent cases of devotees jumping down the precipice from the platform, believing that if their prayers had been heard they would not be injured by the fall.

It is on this platform in front of one of the temple rooms that I noticed a kind of jug, not very large, containing some fluid. I asked one of the temple priests what it was, and he told me that the jug contained the tea offered to Kwannon and that people with sickness dipped out some of it into a bottle and took it home to use as a medicine,—like a miniature Lourdes.

Kwannon in whose honour this temple was built is that form of her called the Jū-ichi-men or eleven-faced Kwannon. This is a translation of one of her titles "Samantamukha" meaning "the all-looking," the god or goddess who looks every way in the effort to save souls. This Kwannon has also one thousand hands and shows the desire she has to reach out to save everyone in every possible way. In each hand is a Buddhist emblem, a wheel, a rosary, a lotus, a rope, a bowl, an incense burner, and many others, and in the top pair of hands figures of the Buddha.

The legendary origin of the temple is told to have been in the following manner: In the reign of the Emperor Kōnin,



A.D. 770-781, a devoted monk called Enchin lived in a temple in Yamato province. On account of instruction received in a dream, he went to the river Kidzu and near there found a golden stream. Tracing it to its source he came to a small hut where was seated an aged man dressed in white robes. In reply to questions, this old man whose name was Gyoei, said, "For two hundred years I have been here praying to Kwannon and waiting for you to come and take my place for a while in order that I may make a journey to a distant province. Take my hut for your home and from the yonder log make an image of Kwannon. In case my return should be delayed until after it had been completed, then you must also build a shrine in which to install the image." As Enchin assented to these propositions, the old man started out on his journey. Afterwards, Enchin found a pair of shoes lying on the ground near by, which indicated that the old man was a manifestation of Kwannon himself. Though Enchin was anxious to fulfil his promise, he was unable even to move the log itself. For years he gazed at it in dismay, when at last in 783, a noted General named Tamura-marō, while on a hunting expedition to get meat for his sick wife, pursued a stag to the neighbourhood of the hut. Hearing from Enchin all that had happened, he became so interested in the story that he hastened home to repeat it to his wife. She said to him that the slaying of animals on her account would serve only to increase her guilt and its punishment, while the making of the image would be a meritorious deed that would surely bring its reward. So the noble pair united in helping Enchin carve the image from the sacred wood which had been prepared by Gyoei or rather by Kwannon himself. This statue is now the principal object of worship in the temple.

In 794 when Kyoto was founded, Tamura-marō followed the Emperor of the time to the new capital and gave his

house for building a shrine which was then called Kwannonji and which still remains under the name of Tamurado. The images that are installed on the sides of the principal one are Shōgun Jizō Bosatzu and Shōteki Bishamon, both being the workmanship of Enchin. It is said that when Tamura-maro's army was sent to subdue the rebellious provinces in the north-east these images appeared before it to lead the way. The marks of the arrows shot by the enemy are said to be still visible on them. On one occasion when the Emperor Kwammu was ill, he was restored to health through the prayer of Enchin who came to the Imperial palace for that special purpose. As a reward the Emperor gave to Tamura-maro a building which was to be transformed into a Buddhist temple at Kiyomidzu. As the ground chosen was steep and uneven it seemed impossible for a large building. One stormy night, however, a number of stags came out and with their horns levelled the ground. In 807, the Emperor Heijo gave Tamura-maro one of his palace buildings, which was transferred to Kiyomidzu, and the Emperor named it Otowa-san. The building was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1708, and the new one standing in its place was raised by Tokugawa Iyemitsu two years later.

The small temple halls in the enclosure remind one at every step of Buddhist worthies, for each one is dedicated to those associated with the history of Buddhism. The Amida-do is dedicated to Amida; in the Hokke-Sammaido are enshrined Kwannon, Bishamon, and Jizo; the Kaisan-do contains statues of Tamura-maro, his wife, Taka-ko, Gyoei, Enchin, and the great royal patron of Buddhism, Shōtokutaishi; the Kyōdo or library has Shakamuni seated on the lotus, having Fugen, god of love, on his right on the elephant, and Monju, god of wisdom, on the left on the lion.

At the Amida Hall may be seen a statue of Hōnen Shōnin, said to be carved by himself, and small *ofudas* or

prints of the saint may be purchased. He is here, as generally depicted in priest's robes, holding a rosary, his gentle and benign face looking out at one serenely as he tells his beads. Back of this building there is an open shed where in several tiers are many small carved images of Jizo. It is believed by some that women with sick babies pray to the Jizos, and when they are healed give tokens to the Jizos; but according to the temple attendant this is not the case. On the contrary the baby has died and when the sorrowing mother comes here, she picks out that figure which to her mind most resembles the lost one and bestows upon the Jizo some article which belonged to the dead child, a cap or a bib, and perhaps a rosary, with the child's name written upon the bib; for Jizo is the guardian of little children in the after-world.

Jizo is a most popular god. He is generally represented as a Buddhist priest with shaven head with a halo and holding in his left hand a gem and in his right a staff. In the centre of his forehead is an illuminating boss. He is especially venerated as the guardian of dead children. When they go to the underworld, the compassionate Jizo befriends them and chases the demons away. Lafcadio Hearn writes in his *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* most charmingly of Jizo. He says :

"Little piles of stone are placed upon his pedestal. It is said that these little towers of stones are built by child-ghosts for penance in the Sai-no-Kawara which is the place to which all children after death must go. And the *Oni* (demons) come to throw down the stone-piles and to frighten and torment the children. But the little souls run to Jizo, who hides them in his great sleeves and comforts them. And every stone one lays upon the knees or at the feet of Jizo with a prayer from the heart helps some child-soul to perform his long penance ...The real origin of this custom of

piling up stones before the images of Jizo is not known to the people. The custom is founded upon a passage in the famous sutra, *The Lotus of the Good Law*: 'Even the little boys and girls who in playing erected here and there heaps of sand with the intention of dedicating them as stupas (dedicatory mounds) to the Buddhas, they have all of them reached enlightenment' . . . The stones heaped about the statue are put there by the people for the sake of the little ones, most often by mothers of dead children."

In the cemeteries is frequently seen Roku-Jizo, a group of six Jizo. Their faces look alike, but each figure differs from the other by the attitude and emblematic attribute. The first holds an incense burner; the second, a lotus; the third, a pilgrim's staff; the fourth, a rosary; the fifth stands in the attitude of prayer with hands joined; the sixth bears in one hand the *shakujō*, the mendicant monk's staff with six rings attached to the top of it, and in the other the mystic jewel by virtue of which all desire may be attained. This last is the most familiar representation of Jizo and often stands by himself as headstone of a grave under which probably sleeps calmly a dead child.

Below the minor temples is the waterfall, Otowa-no-taki. This water is famous for its purity and coldness, and it is believed that diseases of all kinds are cured by bathing in the fall. Behind sits an image of the popular god, Fudo, whose signification in Buddhist iconography is fully explained in an article appearing elsewhere in the present number of this magazine. Now two old women approached the Fudo with sticks of incense in their hands. Reverently they lighted the sticks and inserted them in the incense-holder. As the smoke of the incense ascended towards the face of Fudo, the old women bowed low, and then taking their rosaries passed them through the waves and curls of the incense over and over again. Again they bowed murmuring prayers, and then

with their rosaries clasped tightly to them, they turned and passed down the stone-steps. It was a touching little episode.

I was to see another that day before the altar of the god Zuigu who had a small temple building of his own where burned many candles and where the fumes of innumerable sticks of incense floated, I noticed a young woman pretty and well-dressed kneeling. Her head was bowed and she held a pink coral rosary in her hands. Then I remembered that Zuigu is the god who grants all desires. Pray to him, it is said, with trust and devotion, and he will not fail to give you the desire of your heart. Not the powerful remover of difficulties like the stern Fudo, but the kind bestower of good gifts is the smiling Zuigu. Where the two old women turned in their troubles to Fudo, the young girl had cast her desire before Zuigu. And yet are they not one and the same, all symbols of the one unity, the one Dharmakaya standing behind all? Whether in trouble one goes to Fudo, or in grief like the weeping mother to Jizo, or in the flush of youth for some worldly desire to Zuigu, or for help of all kinds to the merciful Kwannon, one is still offering worship to the one, to the Supreme Buddha of all.

However, it is of the symbol of the Buddha which we call the goddess Kwannon (in Sanskrit Avalokiteśvara) that we should think in Kiyomidzu; for it is in her honour that Kiyomidzu was raised, I write "her," for in Japan Kwannon is always considered a goddess; but in Indian Buddhism Avalokiteśvara is a man. In reality, Avalokiteśvara is sexless and represents the sexlessness of the Buddha. It is only among scholars that the original character of Avalokiteśvara is remembered, but popularly in Japan, the idea of mercy and pity seems to have a feminine aspect as it has also in China where Kwannon is worshipped as Kuanyin. Her female character comes out most prominently when she is represented as a child-nursing deity, Komori-Kwannon, and

in this one is strongly reminded of the Christian conception of Madonna. In fact, during the feudal days when Christians were persecuted by the Tokugawa government, Madonna was worshipped actually in the form of the Komori-Kwannon.

Kwannon has thirty-three temples in Kyoto and neighbouring provinces sacred to her, and Kiyomidzu is the sixteenth, and the Kwannon worshipped here is the Senju or Thousand-handed,—thousand-handed because each hand is a hand of help held out in love and pity to those who seek her aid in prayer. She is undoubtedly the most popular deity in Japan and worshipped by all sects as the aspect of love and mercy of THE BUDDHA.

Six or thirty-three representations of Kwannon are frequently mentioned. The six Kwannons are (1) Shō-Kwannon, the Holy One; (2) Senju, the Thousand-handed, (3) Medzu, the Horse-headed; (4) Jū-ichi-men, the Eleven-faced; (5) Nyo-i-rin, the Desire-yielding Wheel, who is easily distinguished by his seated position, with one knee raised and cheek pillowed as Hearn expresses it upon the left hand; and (6) Fukūkenjaku, one with "unerring rope," who is generally depicted with a piece of rope in his left hand. The idea of the thirty-three Kwannons comes from a passage in the *Lotus of the Good Law* in which Kwannon is told to incarnate himself in different personalities according to the character of his object. But in his popular representations the original idea is all lost and he is seen clad in white robes, or carrying a branch of willow tree, or with a fish-basket, or simply with a halo around his head. The figure suggests more of the feminine aspect of the deity than otherwise.

As I passed through the old burying ground of Kiyomidzu, where were the graves of hundreds of faithful devotees of Kwannon, I found myself thinking of this—the One in the many and the many in the One. The popular mind loves to think of the Buddha in his aspect of the merciful Kwannon,

for this brings the god or goddess nearer to the human heart. So many do not understand this and think these people here who worship in Buddhist temples are idol-worshippers of many gods. Not so : whether they know it or not, and more know it than one would suppose, it is the One Buddha that they are worshipping—the One Buddha who looks down at them and is one with them, the Buddha Universal. Here at Kiyomidzu, he manifests himself as Kwannon, the Merciful One, Avalokiteśvara, the one who looks down from high. At Kiyomidzu well may one meditate upon the Buddha in this aspect of his and learn to know him as Pity, as Mercy, and as Love.

SEIREN (BLUE LOTUS)

## NOTES

It has been customary in the history of Japanese Buddhism that any noted and saintly teacher of Buddhism is given a posthumous title of honour by the Imperial House. He will then be known as a *Kokushi* (national teacher) or as a *Daishi* (great teacher), the latter title which is considered higher and more honourary than the former being conferred generally upon the founder or reorganiser of a great sect. For instance, the founder of the Shin sect is known as "Ken-shin Daishi" (Great Truth-Seeing Teacher); the founder of the Jōdo sect is, "Yenkō Daishi" (Great Teacher of Perfect Light); that of the Shingon sect is "Kōbō Daishi" (Great Law Propagator); etc. While since the Restoration the relation between Buddhism and the Imperial House has been officially broken and the latter has formally nothing to do with religion of all kinds, the historical significance of Buddhism cannot very well be ignored so long as Japan remains what she is. All that Buddhism has been doing for the advancement of Japanese culture must be taken account of when the nation writes its history. It is probably due to this fact that on the one hand the Court is still concerned with the conferring of a posthumous title on the Buddhist saints of the past, and that on the other hand Buddhists, mostly conservative Buddhists, still dreaming of the past, are anxious of having their high priests honoured and decorated by the highest personage in the land. It so happened that Nichiren, the founder of the Nichiren sect, was without any honour ever given by the Imperial House, while Hōnen, the Jōdo founder, is the possessor of quite a number of such titles. The followers of Nichiren have been grieving over the fact for some time. This was taken notice of by the Court recently, and after



October this year Nichiren is to be known as "Risshō Dai-shi," Great Justice-Establishing Teacher.

This is in more than one sense going backward in the history of Buddhism, and those followers of the Buddha who are earnestly looking forward to a real revival of Buddhist spirit which consists in the attainment of Nirvana in one's inner heart and in its objective realisation, would like to see things moving forward instead of turning to the past. It may take some time, perhaps not in the very near future, that Buddhism casting its old worn-out garment will be ready for a fresh ablation. In the meantime this transition period produces many a phenomenon which is significant in various ways.

After the above was written, we read in the paper that one of the professors belonging to the faculty of the Nichiren College has made a vigorous protest against this conferring of the posthumous title on the founder of his sect; for according to him the whole business is entirely against the spirit of Nichiren who, standing so far above all worldly considerations was proud enough to call himself "son of a commoner" that he really was. There are many Nichirenites who warmly greet the protest. (While this was going to the press, the professor is reported to have been excommunicated by the authorities of the sect and driven out of the chair in the college.)

Daishōji is an old historical Buddhist temple noteworthy even in Kyoto where there are many such ones. It was first established towards the end of the fourteenth century and always presided over throughout its long line of succession by one of the Imperial princesses until recently. The Restoration in spite of its name was quite destructive in all such ancient traditions, and ever since 1868 the abbess of Daishoji was no more of the Imperial blood. The present one belongs

to one of the noble families closely related to the Court. As she is growing old she thought of a successor, who was found in the family of Marquis Kwasanin, an old court-noble. The successor so adopted has been brought up in this ancient nunnery since she was five years old,—so we are told, and as she has now reached her thirteenth year an ordination ceremony took place lately in the temple. After this she will no more don a layman's dress, a broad sash and flowing sleeves in gay colours are discarded for ever, and the regulation uniform in black will be her robe of renunciation. A young blooming girl whose jet-black hair will be shaven off her head within a month from this ordination day, is reported to have been a sight of pity among those who were witnesses to the ceremony. We do not know whether this feeling was the rightful one we ought to have on such occasions, but the fact remains that there is something irrational and artificial in the whole procedure of determining a successor to the nunnery. The only explanation lies in history. Apart from it, the whole thing has no signification whatever, when the real spirit of Buddhism alone is to be considered. The temple belongs to the Zen sect and is under the jurisdiction of Sōkoku-ji, one of the Five Zen Monasteries of Kyoto.

While history is thus mirroring itself in the present, there is another side of it upon which we have to congratulate ourselves for the sake of progressive Buddhism. Popular lectures on Buddhism are much in demand outside the temple and official preaching halls, which means that the old, stereotyped, scholastic way of presenting the principles of Buddhism is not so well countenanced by the general public as it once was. Scholars do not confine their learned lectures within the holy walls of the colleges, and preachers, as they did in the beginning of all religion, come right out into the street among the masses who are more or less being alienated from the formal-

ism of ancient days. A series of articles on the Shin sect teaching, which was written by the Acting Abbot of the West Hongwanji and was published in the Osaka Mainichi, is now out in bookform. This appears like a matter of ordinary importance to some of us, but, judging from the history and tradition of Buddhism in Japan, there are one or two points we like to note. Up to now it has been an event of rare occurrence that a personage in such an exalted position as the Acting Abbot of Hongwanji should speak directly to the general public, much less write a series of articles in a daily paper under his own signature. Whatever writings or talks a Buddhist priest of the highest rank in the hierarchy might have, were mostly short, dry, formal, and altogether too abstract. And then no newspapers would ever dream of asking a Buddhist abbot to contribute to their columns, and the reason was not always economical. This state of affairs has now substantially changed, something of modern democratic ideas have permeated even through the hard shell of old style Buddhism. The extension movement of Otani Buddhist University is another sign indicating the awakening of a new spirit in the field of learning. Buddhist philosophy is to be expounded by modern thought for modern young men and women, who have no time to specialise themselves in the mastery of Buddhist thought, but who want to understand it according to the light of modern knowledge. Last year, Otani University had in Tokyo a course of popular lectures on various branches of Buddhist philosophy, and this year the university had another such course in Kyoto opened to the public generally. The lectures which were given at the Yamaguchi Buddhist Hall were well attended and eagerly listened to. Prof. Sasaki spoke on the metaphysical interpretation of the Kegon Sutra which is noted for its deep and penetrating insight into life; while Prof. Kaneko gave his views on the teaching of the Shin sect which it was his object to present

philosophically systematised. Prof. Sasaki and Prof. Yamabe also delivered some popular lectures on Buddhism in Osaka at the Mainichi auditorium, which were highly appreciated by the people of the commercial centre of Japan.

The history of Chinese Buddhism is at present one of the subjects engaging the diligent attention of Japanese scholars, many of whom have visited or are visiting that country just now. Among the many things Japan owes China in the development of her intellect and culture, there is one for which the Japanese ought to be most grateful. By this we mean the introduction of Buddhism; for through this fact it was made possible for us to come in contact with Indian thought. If not for the Indian and Chinese stimulation, Japanese genius might not have produced a galaxy of spiritual stars of the first magnitude such as Prince Shōtoku, Nichiren, Shinran, Kōbō, Dōgen, Dengyo, Hakuin, Hōnen, etc. Hence the tide of scholarly pilgrimage to China. To cite a few notable instances, Dr Tokiwa's third trip which is now finished may yield another rich harvest. Mr Tanaka's expedition to T'ien Ling San, Tai-yun, resulted in photographing all the twenty-four caves which are filled with carvings of Buddhist statues executed during the Kao-Chi (高齊) and the Sui (隋) dynasty (A.D. 550-618). The caves being situated in remote and almost inaccessible parts of China have so far not been thoroughly studied, though the worth of the carvings is well known. These pictures, 70 in number, can be had now in collotype printed by Bun-yen-do, Tokyo. Prof. Ono, of the Shyūkyō Daigaku, who is a well-known authority on Buddhist art recently came back from a short trip in China. Prof. Inaba, of the Otani Daigaku, has started on an extended tour of scholarly observation chiefly in southern China. Being a scholar of T'ien-tai philosophy, he plans to travel personally through all the historical sites connected with the

itineration of the founder of the sect. There are other Buddhist monks and priests who yearly visit China to pay their homage to the tombs of the originators of their respective schools and also to get acquainted with their fellow-monks in the faith in the Middle Kingdom.

Along with the study of Chinese Buddhism, the study of the so-called "primitive Buddhism" is vigorously pursued by such scholars as Professors Uyi, Kimura, Tachibana, Akamura, Nagai, and others. Prof. Kimura's recent book on *Primitive Buddhism*, 原始佛教思想論, is a noteworthy one in which he endeavours to trace systematically and in the light of modern philosophy the main ideas as entertained by the early disciples of the Buddha in regard to the teaching of their Master. He calls his work a sort of modern reconstruction of the old Abhidharma philosophy. He believes that the original teaching of the Buddha was neither Hinayanistic, nor Mahayanistic, but that both elements were there waiting further development innerly as well as outwardly. He is not at all satisfied with the old orthodox way of dealing with the Agamas and the Vinaya texts by the so-called Mahayanists, nor does he countenance the attitudes of Pali scholars who refuse to see anything of Buddhism in its Mahayana representatives. One of his theses expounded in this book is that all the Buddhist ideas generally regarded as later developments and as not properly and directly derived from the Buddha are essentially those to be found in the earlier scriptures of Buddhism. That an inner linking of thought is traceable between certain of the Abhidharma philosophers and those of the Mahayana is gradually being recognised by Buddhist scholars. As time goes on, and as the texts in Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan are more and more thoroughly studied and compared, the details filling up theoretical gaps will be properly traced. Prof. Kimura who is an untiring worker

promises to publish before long another book on studies concerning the compilation of the Abhidharma texts.

Another noteworthy book on Buddhism comes from a Tibetan scholar, Mr Yekai Kawaguchi, whose extensive travels in India and Tibet some years ago were widely taken notice of in the papers at the time. He is now quietly settled in Japan and engaged in writing and teaching. His latest work is a *History of Buddhism in India* compiled from Tibetan sources, of which the following six books have been made use of: (1) Lamrim rGyudpai Lamai rNamhar ngapa, (2) Vaidūrya dKarpai gYasel, (3) dPag bSam lJon bSang, (4) Dampai Chhoski aKorlos bsGyur Ba, (5) rGya Cher LorPa, and (6) bDe gSheg gsTan Pai Chhos Byung. He mentions five more authorities which however have not been utilised in the first volume of his *History*—this alone so far having been published. It treats of the life of Sakyamuni. His method of compilation consists in picking out and arranging such passages in the Tibetan originals as are in accord with his critical judgment. He has translated, he remarks, only those lines that were considered reliable and based on facts. This was in a certain sense to be regretted, for it would have been far better to have one complete translation of a Tibetan text with all its shortcomings and improbable narrations if there were any. Some statements may be judged quite untrue by the compiler, but the very untruthfulness of them may suggest many circumstances of great historical importance. An old document is always best preserved just as it is in spite of its most apparent and gross inexactnesses. However, the author is to be thanked for what he has given us in this book, and our earnest wish is that he will ere long finish the second volume.

The first Tibetan grammar ever written in Japanese has

been compiled by Prof. Yenga Teramoto, of Otani University. He also travelled for some years in Tibet and India and Mongolia, and while in Tibet studied Buddhism in some of the noted Buddhist colleges there. Even since his return to Japan, he has been trying to publish a Tibetan textbook which can be made accessible to Japanese students of the language. Owing to the difficulties attendant on the procuring of the Tibetan type, he had to suspend his work, but in the meantime he has not been idle to see to it that the necessary font could be manufactured in Japan. This was finally accomplished, and with the assistance freely offered of the students of the Otani, we are now in possession of the first Tibetan textbook ever published in this country. The grammar opens with some photographic reproductions of Tibetan MSS, the preface deals with a brief history of Tibet, Tibetan language, and his own experience with Dalai Lama. The book also contains a full text of the *Hridaya Sutra* and Āśvaghosha's letter to King Kanika, of which the first is published in the present number of *The Eastern Buddhist* in the original Tibetan as well as in the Sanskrit.

Prof. Taiken Kimura is a prolific writer as we have mentioned before. We have hardly finished noticing his discourses on primitive Buddhist thought when we have now before us a new book entitled, *Studies of the Compilation of the Abhidharma Literature*. The Abhidharma as we all know is one of the Buddhist Triple Basket (*tripitaka*) of sacred books. The book was originally written for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (*Bungakuhakushi*) at the Imperial University of Tokyo. It consists of five parts: the first deals with the origin and the compilation of the Abhidharma trying to trace its stages of development in Southern and Northern Buddhism; the second part attempts mainly to prove that Śāriputra's *Abhidharma* in Chinese translation and *Vibhanga* and *Puggala*

*Pannatti* in Pali are derived from one original source; the third section is concerned with the make-up of Chinese *Pra-jñāpati*; the fourth treats of the compilation of the "Vibhasha," a repository of knowledge for the Sarvasthivada school of Buddhism; and the last chapter of the book explains how the *Alhidharma-kośa* came to be written by Vasubandhu. The work is one of the results of the modern method of research applied to an old subject entangled in the maze of tradition and "authority," and reflects quite creditably on the scholarship of the author.

While the history of Buddhism in its literary and dogmatic aspect is a subject of great importance for scholars to make a thorough investigation after a modern method, there is another field in it equally urgently waiting philosophical interpretation or synthetical construction. To cite an instance. What is known as the Holy Path school of Buddhism is so diametrically opposed, at least apparently, to the Pure Land school, and yet they both belong to one constituent body of Buddhism, equally claiming to have come from one and the same founder of the faith; and in fact the followers of the two schools are not, contrary to our expectations, quarrelling over the differences and contradictions as they did some time in their history. The favorite method of bridging over the gap is to make the Buddha an all-wise and all-powerful "doctor of medicine" who gives remedies according to the nature of disease. Those who wanted to be born in the Land of Bliss after death will read the Larger Amitayuh Sutra and find satisfaction therein, while those who wished to climb up laboriously the graded ascent of Bodhisattvaship will do so by practising the various virtues of perfection and applying themselves to the study of the highly abstract metaphysics of Buddhism. This was all right as long as the intellectual dialect of olden days was still spoken and intelligible among



Buddhist scholars of modern Japan, but such is no more the case now, hence the efforts of the younger and progressive students to reconstruct the philosophy of Buddhism. Prof. Ryōshin Soga, of Tōyō Daigaku, is one of such scholars and a very prominent one. His recent book entitled, *Self-enlightenment and Salvation* (自證と救済) deals with various subjects pertaining more or less to the main text of the book which is a modern exposition of the Amida doctrine from the author's idealistic point of view. He is a devout follower of Shinran and a great scholar of the Yogicārya philosophy of Buddhism. His book is filled with deep thoughts and high reflections gained from a profound religious experience. It is therefore not a dry philosophical treatise, but in many passages the poet asserts himself.

Ex-Count Kōzui Ōtani, now of Shanghai, has written a great tirade against his own sect, over the western branch of which he once presided. Besides industrial and educational enterprises which are superintended by him, he edits and publishes a monthly Buddhist magazine called *The Mahayana*. Most of the articles are written by himself as was noticed in a previous number of *The Eastern Buddhist*, and the tirade referred to has appeared in the current number of *The Mahayana*. He thinks the Shin sect is altogether losing its original spirit and degenerating in every possible manner. Unless it is restored to its former simplicity and democratic ideals, he finds no use for it at present. Shinran had no ideas when he first proclaimed the teaching or absolute *tariki* (other-power) against the hierarchy and self-justifying asceticism of old-school Buddhism that his own sect would before long be reduced to the same category as the other. When Shinran declared that he had no "disciples" or followers but friends and comrades, did he ever imagine that his successors would be his worst enemy? The Ex-abbot wields his destructive

Vajra against his own fiercely and effectively. While it takes some time for the karma of history to exhaust itself and cease working out its evil consequences, such an impassioned protest coming as it does from such a personage may surely stir up the self-complacency of the old Buddhism and accelerate the progress of its resuscitation.

Magazines received: *La Revue Spirite*, journal d'études psychologiques et de spiritualisme expérimental, Paris.—*Islamic Review*, London.—*Rays from the Rose Cross*, the Rosicrucian Fellowship, Oceanside, California, U. S. A.—*Maha-Bodhi and the United Buddhist World*, Calcutta, India.—*Prabuddha Bharata*, or *Awakened India*, Mayavati, Almora District (Himalayas), India.—*Journal of Religion*, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A.—*Revista Teosofica*, organo oficial de la seccion cubana de la Sociedad Teosofica, Habana, Cuba.—*Occult Review*, London.—*Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Poona City, India.—*Theosophy in Australia* the organ of the Australian section of the Theosophical Society, Sydney.—*The Aquarian Age*, an advanced thought magazine, published by the Aquarian Ministry, Santa Barbara, California.—*Theosophy in England and Wales*, London.—*La Rose + Croix*, revue mensuelle synthétique des sciences d'Hermès, Douai (nord), France.—*Buddhistischer Weltspiegel*, eine Zeitschrift für Buddhismus und religiöse Kultur, Leipzig.—*Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, München-Neubiberg, Germany.—*O Theosophista*, órgão oficial de la seccão Brasileira da Sociedade Theosophica, Rio de Janeiro.—*The Esoterist*, published by Esoteric Brotherhood, Washington, D. C.—*Vedanta Kesari*, published by Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras, India.—*The Quest*, London, England.—*The Rally*, organ of the International New Thought Alliance, London.—*The Vedic Magazine* and Gurukula Samachar, Lahore, India.—*Revista Astrologica*, Havana, Cuba.—*Reality*, New York City, New York.—*Kal-*

*paka*, Tinnivelly, India.—*Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research*, New York.—*Neu-Buddhistische Zeitschrift*, Berlin.—*Hindu Message*, Srirangam, India.—*Papyrus*, official organ of the Theosophical Society in Egypt, Cairo.—*The Theosophical Path*, Point Loma, California.—*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore, India.—*Revue Theosophique Francaise*, *Le Lotus Bleu*, Paris.—*The Message of the East*, Vedanta monthly, Boston, Massachusetts.—*The Messenger*, official organ of the American Section of the Theosophical Society.—*Theosophisches Streben*, Leipzig.—*Shrine of Wisdom*, London.—*Reincarnation*, Chicago, Illinois.—*Self-Culture*, Tinnivelly, India.—*The Epoch and the Light of Reason*, Ilfracombe, England.—*Herald of Asia*, Tokyo.

# THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

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Contributions, notes, news, and business correspondence should be addressed to the Editors, Library, Otani University, Muromachi-Kashira, Kyoto, Japan.

If these vows of mine, going beyond the limits of the world, which I have made and by which I should certainly attain to the Highest Path, should not be fulfilled, may I not obtain the Perfect Knowledge.

If I should not become a Great Giver in order to save all the poor and suffering for countless ages, may I not obtain the Perfect Knowledge.

—*SUKHĀVATĪ-VYŪHA* (Chinese translation)



真聖人真歌

憶念弥陀佛本願  
日在即待入必定

惟能常稱如來号  
無報大悲心接息



# THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

JANUARY—FEBRUARY, 1923

## THE LIFE OF SHINRAN SHONIN \*

### PART I

#### 1

THE Shōnin in his worldly relation was a scion of the Fujiwara family. The twenty-first descendant of Prince Amatsu Koyane was the Grand Minister Kamatari, and after five generations there was Lord Uchimaro, of the first court rank, junior grade, who was General of the Imperial Guards and a state minister; and six generations after him there was Lord Saisho Arikuni, Police-General; and when five more generations passed there was Lord Arinori, who was a high court officer belonging to the service of the Empress Dowager of the time; and the Shōnin was born (A. D. 1173) as son of this noble personage. In consequence of his distinguished birth, his earthly prospects were full of promise. If he desired, he could have become a high dignitary at the Imperial court and enjoyed whatever prosperity he would have aspired to the end of his life. But his heart was inclined towards things unworldly; for he wished to devote himself to the holy cause of Buddhism and to increase the spiritual welfare of all beings. This looked-for opportunity came when he was nine years old. Accompanied by his uncle Lord Noritsuna, of the

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\* The author of this Life is Kakunyo Shōnin (1270-1351), the third Abbot of the Hongwanji. He was great-grand son of Shinran Shōnin. This is the earliest record in our possession of the life of Shinran. The translation is by D. T. Suzuki.



third court rank, junior grade, he went to the monastery of the venerable Jiyen. Jiyen had held till then a high ecclesiastical position called Daisōjo. The Shōnin had his head shaved by this noble priest and was given the Buddhist name Hanyen. After this he applied himself most earnestly to the study of the deep philosophy of the Tendai school concerning the three aspects of the mind and especially to the mastery of a profound system expounded by Yeshin who used to live at the Ryōgon-in, Yokawa. There was thus nothing in the Tendai philosophy which escaped his penetrating insight, including the doctrine of the four grades in perfect harmony which are distinguished in the teaching of the Buddha.

## 2

During the first year of Kennin (A. D. 1201, when he was twenty-nine years old) his earnest heart, ever intent on spiritual and unworldly things, induced him to call on Genkū Shōnin at his Yoshimidzu monastery; for he wished to walk in the high way of Easy Practise, finding it very uncertain to plod along the narrow path of Difficult Practice in these later days when humanity is so degraded. The venerable Genku (i. e., Hōnen) in whom the True Sect finds a most illustrious transmitter of its doctrine, took special pains to explain to him in a most exhaustive manner the essentials of his teaching and their ultimate signification. As soon as this was done, the Shōnin instantly came to realise the inmost meaning of the doctrine of salvation through Amida and his all-embracing love for sentient beings; and to his heart's fullest content, he found his faith firmly established in the truth that leads every sentient being, however ignorant, to the direct path of the Pure Land.

## 3

On the fifth day of the fourth month in the third year of Kennin, the Shōnin had a vision at night in the hour of the

Tiger. According to the "Record," "Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara of the Rokkakudo manifested himself before the Shōnin in the form of a holy monk whose serene countenance was awe-inspiring. He was clad in white robe (*kashaya*), sitting quietly in a huge white lotus flower, and spoke to Zenshin (i. e., Shinran) in an authoritative voice: 'When the devotee finds himself bound by his past karma to come in contact with the female sex, I will incarnate myself as a most beautiful woman and become his object of love; and throughout his life I will be his helpmeet for the sake of embellishing this world, and on his death I will become his guide to the Land of Bliss.' 'This,' continued the Bodhisattva, 'is my vow. Thou, Zenshin, shalt announce the signification of this my vow to the world and make all sentient beings know of it.' At this time, Zenshin still in a state of trance looked eastward facing directly the Rokkakudo, and descried a range of high mountains, on the highest peak of which were found congregating an immense number of people. He addressed them as commanded by the Bodhisattva, and when he imagined that he had come to the end of his address, he awaked from the dream."

When we think of the purport of this vision as described in the "Record," we notice herein symbolised an auspicious opening for the establishment of the True Sect and the propagation of its doctrine of salvation. Thus says the Shōnin later on: "Buddhism was first founded in the West, and that we have its sacred books in this country now is altogether due to the perfect virtue of Prince Jyōgū, which was higher than a mountain and deeper than the ocean. It was during the reign of the Emperor Kimmie of our Imperial House that the Buddhist literature was brought here over the sea, and with it came those Sūtras and Śāstras on which the doctrine of the Pure Land Sect is based; if in those days the Imperial Heir were not disposed to spread his benevolence

far and wide, how could the poor and ignorant become acquainted with the Buddha's vows for universal salvation? As Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is the original abode of the Imperial Heir, Jyōgū, he revealed in his august original abode in order to make known his vows, that is, to incarnate himself in a human form and thereby to advance the cause of Buddhism.

"And again, if my Great Teacher, the venerable Genkū, were not sent away into a remote province by the authorities, how should I ever live a life of banishment? And if I did not live a life of banishment, how could I hope to have the opportunity to convert the people living far away from the centre of culture? This too must be ascribed to the virtue of my venerable Teacher.

"My Great Teacher, the venerable Genkū, was no other personage than an incarnation of Bodhisattva Mahāsthama, while Shōtoku, the Imperial Heir, was an earthly manifestation of Avalokiteśvara. It devolves upon me under the guidance of these two Bodhisattvas now to proclaim far and wide the original vows of the Tathāgata, through which it is that the True Sect has arisen and the doctrine of *Nembutsu* (recitation of the Buddha's name) is gaining ground. This, however, is all due to the instructions of the holy ones altogether independent of the achievements of my humble self. The twofold vows as offered by these two august beings are to recite the name of the One Buddha with singleness of heart. The followers of Buddhism these days ought not to go astray and pay their reverence to those two personages who stand by the Buddha; let them adore the One only."

Thus the reason why the Shōnin Shinran pays his respect to the Imperial Heir along with the Buddha himself is that he is grateful for his greatest deed of benevolence which made it possible for Buddhism to spread all over this land.

## 4

On the ninth day of the second month in the eighth year of Kencho (A. D. 1256), at the 'Tiger's hour at night, Shaku Renyi had a vision in which he was told of the Imperial Heir, Shōtoku, who, prostrating himself before the Shōnin Shinran, said: "I must reverently bow to the Great Merciful Buddha Amida, who has revealed himself on earth in order to propagate the doctrine full of spiritual meaning; for it is through him that I, born in a world of evils and at the time of the five defilements, was enabled most assuredly to attain the highest wisdom." According to this, it is evident that the Shōnin, the founder of the True Sect, was no other personage than an incarnation of Amida Tathāgata.

## 5

While the venerable Teacher, Genkū, was yet on earth, he was so kindly disposed towards the Shōnin that the latter was graciously allowed to have access to the writings of the Teacher and even to copy them, and again that the Teacher himself condescended to write the name of the Shōnin and gave him the inscription. Thus, we read in one of the Shōnin's writings, entitled *Passages Collected to Show the Truth of the Pure Land Doctrine*: "Thus, I, Shinran, the simple-hearted man with a shaven head, during the era of Kennin abandoned the practise of unessential work and found the home in the original vows of Amida. During the era of Genkyu, I was permitted through the gracious consideration of the Teacher to copy his work, *Selected Passages*, while in the same year, on the fourteenth day of the first summer month, he inscribed in my copy the inside title of the book, which is, *Selected Passages Concerning the Original Vows of the Pure Land*, and together with it: 'Na-mu-a-mi-da-bu-tsu: for those who wish to be born in the land of Amida, the one thing needed is to recite the name of the Buddha. Given to

Shaku Shakkū.' This was written by the Teacher's own hand. On the same day I was permitted to carry his portrait home in order to make a copy of it.

"In the second year of the same era, which was a leap year, on the twenty-ninth of the seventh month, I was given his own portrait with an autograph inscription: '*Na-mu-a-mi-da-bu-tsu*: Upon my attainment of Buddhahood, if sentient beings in the ten quarters of the world, who recited my name once or repeated it up to ten times, were not to be born in my land, then I would not embrace the supreme wisdom. This Buddha is at present abiding in Buddhahood; therefore let it be known that his original vows, his grand vows have already been fulfilled, and whoever recites his name will assuredly be born in his land.'

"Again, according to a vision, my Teacher had my name, Shakkū, changed into Zenshin, and on the same day with his own hand he inscribed my new name.

"My venerable Teacher, Shōnin Genkū, is seventy-three years old this year. His *Selected Passages Concerning the Original Vows of the Pure Land* was compiled in compliance with the request of the devout Buddhist Prime Minister, Tsukinowa Kanezane, and it comprises all the essential teaching of the True Sect and the inmost signification of *Nembutsu*, which will readily be comprehended by those who study them. The work is the efflorescence of faith so rare and unsurpassable; it is the holy treasure of Buddhism unfathomably deep. Though there have been hundreds of thousands of people who come to receive instructions from the Teacher—the period of their discipleship ranging from days to years—and whatever relationship to the Teacher, distant or near, they may have had, still they have all found quite a rare occurrence to be permitted to see and copy his work; whereas I have had all these privileges granted, that is, the copying of his literary production as well as his own portrait. This I must ascribe

to the merit of engaging myself in the orthodox work with singleness of heart. It is symbolic of the assurance of one's rebirth in the country of Amida. And for this reason, restraining my tears of sadness and gratitude, I have hereby recorded all these circumstances."

## 6

While the venerable Genkū was still alive, he was ever devoted to the propagation of the doctrine of salvation through "The Other" and rebirth in Amida's country and the entire world was then anxious to listen to his teaching. Not only were the Imperial personages ready to pluck the golden flowers of the Pure Land, but the noble lords of the highest ranks were glad to gaze at the moon shining on the forty-eight vows of Amida. Nay, even the people, remote and humble, were glad to come to the venerable Teacher and pay him homage. Thus, his followers, noble and lowly, coming thick upon him, converted his residence into a sort of busy market. Those monks who were in constant attendance on him numbered about three hundred and eighty. In spite of this, however, those who were personally cared for by the Teacher and who earnestly followed his instructions were not many, hardly numbering more than five or six.

The Shōnin Zenshin once said to his Teacher: "Since my abandoning of the Difficult Practise for the Easy and entering into the Gate of the Pure Land away from the Path for the Wise, I have ever been under your wise guidance whereby I was made to walk along the path of emancipation. If not for you, what would become of me? For that reason, I know not how to give vent to my feeling of happiness and gratitude.

"There are however many fellow-believers of mine, all of whom have had the friendship of belonging to the same company under one director, and yet we know not one another well as regards our inner faith, whether it is such as

to enable us to be born in the country of Amida or not. Besides, I have a desire to know who among us could be real spiritual friends in our coming lives, and also to have a sort of meeting to test our faith while still living here. Will you kindly permit me to say a few words to my fellow-believers on such an occasion as seems proper?"

To this the Teacher replied, "Your request is most reasonable. You shall speak to them when they all come here tomorrow."

The next day when they were assembled, the Shōnin requested them to arrange themselves into two groups according to their views on what constitutes the stage of infallibility, that is, whether it is attained by faith or by work. Some three hundred fellow-believers of his, who were present at this meeting, seemed not to comprehend fully the sense of this request. There were two, however, who declared themselves as belonging to the group of those who believed in the all-importance of faith: they were Seikaku, who was a Hōin, Daikwasho-i, and Shaku Hōren called Shinkū Shōnin.

Later came in Hōriki, Kamagaye Nohozane, a lay-disciple of the Teacher and asked, "My venerable Zenshin, what are you engaged in?" Replied the Shōnin, "Sir, we are trying to make a distinction between those who believe in the all-importance of faith and those who believe in work as most essential." Said Hōriki, "If this be the case, I must not be omitted, for I will join the rank of those who believe in the all-importance of faith." Thereby, Zenshin took down his name as requested, while the rest of those present numbering several hundred had not a word to say concerning the matter in question. Perhaps this silence was due to their inability to free themselves from the bondage of "self-salvation" and to the darkness of their inner faith which was not so solid and genuine as a diamond. Thus, as they remained

silent, the Shōnin who was acting as recorder, put his own name down. After a while, the venerable Teacher said, "I also will take a seat with those who believe in the all-importance of faith." Then among his disciples, some humbly and devoutly expressed their willingness to follow his example while others felt dejected over their weakness of faith.

## 7

Said the Shōnin: "When we were once gathered in the presence of the Teacher, the venerable Genkū, including such personages as Shōshimbo, Seikwambo, Nembutsubo, and many others, we entered unexpectedly into a heated discussion. This was raised by my remark to the effect that the faith entertained by the Teacher and myself so completely coincided that there could not be any distinction whatever between his and mine. The others present did not agree with me and raised an objection, saying, 'We cannot see any reason in your remark that the faith of the Teacher and your own are one and the same. How could they be one?' I then said, 'Why should I not say that they are one? Of course, I am not so presumptuous as to imagine for a moment that I am equal to the Teacher in deep wisdom and wide learning; but as far as my faith in the Pure Land of Amida is concerned, it has been firmly established since my listening to the doctrine of salvation by "The Other" and I have ever been free from the notion of "by one's self." Now, the faith of the Teacher is based upon a power other than oneself, and so is mine. Hence my declaration that they are both one and the same.'

"Thereupon, the venerable Teacher truly observed: 'Faith varies so long as it is based on one's self, for we all have different intellectual capacities, and the faith based upon them cannot be identical; whereas the faith based upon a power other than oneself is one that is given by the Buddha



to us ignorant beings regardless of our moral attainments; and therefore, what makes up my faith cannot in any way differ from the faith embraced by Zenshin, they are identical. My faith is not the outcome of my ingenuity. Those who entertain a faith other than that which has just been referred to, may not go to the same Pure Land where I am bound for. Let this be thoroughly understood by all.'

"With this, they held their tongues and did not speak a word."

## 8

Nyūsaibo, one of the disciples of the Shōnin, was wishing for some time to have his portrait painted, and the Shōnin reading his thought told him to engage the artist, Jōzen Hōkyo, for the purpose, who was living near Hichijo. Feeling grateful for his kind insight, Nyūsaibo sent for the Hōkyo, who immediately responded to the invitation.

As soon as he came to the presence of the Shōnin, he said, "Last night I had a wonderful dream and the holy personage who appeared to me in it had exactly the same features as those of the one whom I now confront." Saying this, he was instantly moved with the feelings of deep gratitude and adoration, and related the story of the dream: "Two holy-looking monks came in, and one of them requested me to paint a picture of this spiritual being. I asked him who this spiritual being was, to which the reply was: He is the venerable monk who is enshrined at the Zenkōji temple as its founder. Though in a dream, I folded my hands together and knelt down most reverently. I was awe-struck and trembled all over, for I realised that I was facing Amida himself. The monk told me that the portrait might be simply that of his head. After this dialogue I awoke from the dream. On coming here, as I looked up at the venerable features before me, I perceived their perfect identity with the

holy monk in my vision." Saying this, he was in tears from excess of his grateful feelings.

Then he painted, according to the miraculous advice given in the vision, only the head of the Shōnin. The vision is said to have taken place on the night on the twentieth day of the ninth month in the third year of Ninji (A. D. 1242).

When we weigh the significance of this singular incident, it is evident that the Shōnin was a manifestation of Amida Nyorai. Therefore, his teaching must be regarded as the direct communication of Amida, which is on the one hand to dispel the darkness of this defiled world by means of the pure light of wisdom, and on the other to give the necessary moisture by sending down the spiritual rain of nectar, to us who are ignorant and confused and dying of dryness of heart. So let us adoringly believe this.

## PART II

### 1

There were many Buddhist scholars, then, living in the South and the North of Kyoto, who were greatly irritated to see the rise of the Pure Land Sect at the expense of the Path for the Wise, which was steadily losing ground. They attributed this to the baneful influence of the venerable Genkū, and wished to have him incriminated without delay.

We read in the *Passages Relating to the Land of the Transformed Body*, VI: "All the schools, I observe, belonging to Path for the Wise, have long been on the decline, as far as their practical discipline and spiritual attainment are concerned; while the True Sect of the Pure Land is now making it possible for every one to come to spiritual attainment. The Buddhist monks belonging to the various other schools, however, have no adequate understanding of their

doctrine and are unable to distinguish truth from falsehood. Even so with the learned scholars of the Imperial capital, they have no definite ideas concerning practical morality, they are at a loss how to discriminate between right and wrong. The Buddhist monks of the Kōfukuji naturally took advantage of this fact, and early in the mid-spring of the first year of Jyōgen (1207) during the present reign, they maliciously denounced us to the Ex-emperor as well as to the reigning Emperor. Both master and subjects ignoring the law and regardless of the sense of justice, took offence and vowed vengeance. In consequence of this, Genkū the Teacher, the great illustrious founder of the True Sect, and several of his disciples were charged with crimes, of which they were quite innocent; some were summarily condemned to death, while others were deprived of their ecclesiastical orders, given secular names, and banished to the remote countries. Of the latter, I was one. Thenceforth, I am neither a monk nor a layman, and for my family name I have adopted the title 'Toku,' (bald-headed). Since the banishment of the Teacher, Genkū, and his disciples into various remote parts of the Empire, five years have now passed...."

The venerable Genkū was given the criminal name Fujii Motohiko and banished to Hakata in the province of Tosa; while the criminal name of the Shōnin Shinran was Fujii Yoshizane and banished to Kokubu in the province of Echigo. As to the execution and banishment of other disciples of his, no details will be given here.

During the enlightened reign of the Emperor, in the first year of Kenryaku (1211), on the twenty-seventh day of the eleventh month, Lord Norimitsu Okazaki, a high court official, delivered the Imperial message of pardon to the Shōnin, and to his receipt of the order he signed "Toku" (bald-headed man) as afore-mentioned.

Though thus pardoned, the Shōnin remained for some

time yet in his place of banishment, for he wished to continue his religious work already started there.

## 2

After Echigo, the Shōnin transferred his abode to Hidachi, where he settled at the village of Inada in the country of Kasama. Though his cottage was a lonely one far from town, there was always a large number of anxious truth-seekers, noble and lowly, lay and monkish, who knocked at his rustic gate. His long cherished desire to see the Buddha's Law widely propagated, as well as his ever-abiding desire for the welfare of all beings, were thus satisfactorily brought to a consummation. "This," said the Shōnin then, "fully coincides with what in my former days I was given to understand in a vision through the order of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara."

## 3

When the Shōnin was thus engaged in the propagation of the doctrine of *Senju Nembutsu* (recitation of the Buddha's name with singleness of heart) in the province of Hidachi, few reviled him, and there were many who faithfully followed his instructions. There was however one monk (said to be a *yamabushi*) who at times harboured a deep hatred against the Buddha's Law, and this hatred finally ripened into an evil intention upon the person of the Shōnin. He was occasionally seen looking for a timely chance. As the Shōnin was wont to travel a mountain-pass called Itajiki-yama, the man frequently waited for him coming up that way, but could never have an opportunity to meet the Shōnin. He pondered over this and considering it altogether extraordinary, he awakened a desire to see the Shōnin. So he visited him at his residence. The Shōnin without much ado bade him enter. As soon as the man came to the personal presence of the Shōnin, the evil intention he harboured at once vanished, and

overcome by repentance, he could not forbear weeping bitterly. After a while he frankly confessed all the evil desires that had been possessing him. But the Shōnin remained perfectly calm. Thereupon, the man instantly broke his bow and arrows, threw away his sword and stick, took off his headgear, and changing his persimmon-coloured garment, embraced the Buddha's teaching. It is said that he finally came to realise the faith. It was a miracle, indeed. The man was no other personage than Myōhōbo,—the name given him by the Shōnin.

## 4

The Shōnin, now leaving his abode beyond the eastern frontier, was on his way to the capital. When one day towards the evening he was labouring up the long weary pass of Hakone, along the track beaten only by a few travellers, he at last came to a solitary house. It was now past midnight, and the moon was about to wend her way down behind a neighbouring hill. The dawn was already approaching when the Shōnin walked towards the house and knocked at the door. In response, a man far advanced in years and in full dress, came out of it, betraying not the least sign of surprise, and said to the Shōnin: "Living as I am near a Shinto shrine, I was spending the whole night in the company of the priests, when I thought I fell asleep just for a few seconds. I was not exactly dreaming, or seeing a vision; but the god of the shrine addressed me, saying, 'A visitor whom I revere is just coming up this way, and you shall serve him most faithfully and hospitably, and prepare for him an especial feast....' I had hardly recovered from this divine revelation when all of a sudden you appeared at the door. How could you then be an ordinary personage? The divine words leave no room for doubt, and their instant actualisation commands my utmost respect." So saying, he

treated the Shōnin most worshipfully both in heart and body, serving him with various foods and some rare delicacies.

## 5

After returning to his native town, the Shōnin reflected upon the past, and realising how years come and go like a dream or a vision, he came to look upon his earthly abode in the metropolis as a thing not worth troubling his mind. He moved from one place to another, sometimes in the west and sometimes in the east. And there was one near Gojō and Nishi-no-Tōin, to which he took a fancy for a while as he considered the site fine. Here were gathered those disciples of his, coming from various quarters, who had in former days received his personal instructions, and renewed their friendship.

In those days there was living a commoner called Heitaro of an unknown family in the village of Ōbu, Nakano-sai county, in the province of Hidachi, who embraced the doctrine of the Shōnin with singleness of heart. This Heitaro was on one occasion obliged on account of his profession to pay homage to the Kumano shrine and came to the Shōnin to get enlightened on the matter. The Shōnin then said to him:

“Now, the Holy Teaching has many forms, and each one is productive of great benefits when it is in full accordance with the character of a believer. In these latter days, however, the practise of the Path for the Wise is by no means to be recommended. For we read: ‘In the time when the Law begins to decay, not one among myriads of beings could be found who could gain the Path, however he might discipline himself (according to the Path) and try to observe the Law’; and again, ‘But there is one gate of the Pure Land through which only he may enter the way.’ These are the words unmistakably set forth in our sacred books and

commentaries as uttered by the golden mouth of the Tathāgata himself.

"It was upon this true doctrine of the Pure Land, the only reality, that those venerable patriarchs in the three countries founded their teachings; so what I advise you is not from my selfish will. Absolute single-heartedness as they expound it constitutes the essence of the doctrine of rebirth in the Pure Land, and is the backbone of our religion. While this doctrine is sometimes esoterically and sometimes exoterically set forth in each of the three canonical books, we cannot fail to recognise everywhere in an unmistakable manner where the context and the general meaning tend. In the Larger Sutra, the three classes of believers are mentioned, and yet they are all urged to accept the 'absolute single-heartedness,' and in the concluding part of the Sutra this doctrine is committed to Maitreya. In the Meditation Sutra, the threefold heart is mentioned in connection with the nine grades of rebirth, and the Sutra is entrusted to the hands of Ananda. Finally, the one heart referred to in the Smaller Sutra is testified by all the Buddhas. Therefore, the author of the *Discourse on the Pure Land* treats of the one heart and Donran comments on the doctrine of absolute single-heartedness. Whatever texts we thus resort to, they are all one in upholding this doctrine.

"The original abode of Shōjōden is no other than Amida, the ever-present master of our faith, who, desiring to come in contact with all sentient beings in every possible relation, has left his earthly trace (in Kumano). The ultimate signification of this—his leaving an earthly trace here—is to let in all such sentient beings to the seas of the original vows as have come in touch with him in whatever way. Therefore, whoever believing in the vows of Amida, the original abode, are engaged in the recitation of the name of the Buddha with singleness of purpose, are entirely free from the work-



ings of a selfish heart, even when in conformity to their public duties or to their master's instructions, they tread on the grounds of a god to pay homage to his shrine or temple. This being so, it is not necessary to put on any outward form of wisdom or goodness or purity, though we are holding within ourselves all manners of falsehood and unreality, only let the vows of Amida, the original abode, work themselves out. O, be thou ever reverent! O, be thou ever reverent! Never think this is slighting the dignity of a god; and there will be no divine wrath whatever visited upon thy own person."

Accordingly, Heitaro on his way to the Kumano Shrine did nothing special towards the formal observation of the ceremonial rules; but as an ordinary mortal drowned in the mire of ignorance, he did not trouble himself much about the purification of his person. As to the original vows of Amida, however, he always kept them in deep reverence, not for a moment forgetting the instructions of his teacher. At last he arrived at his destination in safety. While in a dream that night he was visited by a layman who in full dress came out by opening the doors of the Shōjōden. He said to the man, "Why dost thou hold me in disrespect by not cleansing thyself from impurities?" When this was said, lo, all of a sudden there appeared the Shōnin directly confronting the layman, and said, "He is one who spends his days in the recitation of the name of the Buddha as instructed by me, Zenshin." Thereupon, the layman holding his *shaku*, respectfully bowed to him and did not utter another word. Heitaro awoke from his dream, and his wonderment at the incident was beyond description.

On his way home from the shrine, he stopped at the Shōnin's residence and told him every detail of his experience. To this, the Shōnin simply said, "That was what I meant." What a remarkable event!



## 6

Towards the latter part of mid-winter in the second year of Kōchō, (1262), the Shōnin showed the symptoms of a slight indisposition, and after that his talk never referred to earthly things, dwelling only on how deeply grateful he was to the Buddha; he uttered nothing but the name of Amida, which he constantly repeated. On the twenty-eighth of the same month, at noon, he laid himself on his right side with his head towards the north and his face towards the west; and when at last his recitation of the name of Amida was no more heard, he expired. He was then just completing his ninetieth year.

His abode was then in the western parts of the capital, (south of Oshikōji and east of Madenokōji,) and his remains were carried along the road east of the river, to Yenninji, on the western slope of Higashiyama and south of Torinobe. His ashes were gathered there and then deposited at Ōtani, which is situated north of Torinobe at the foot of Higashiyama. Not only those disciples who were present at his death-bed, but all other people, young and old, who received his instructions, unanimously mourned the passing of the Shōnin, recalling the days of his earthly life and lamenting his Shōnin, recalling the days of his earthly life and lamenting his disappearance from their midst.

## 7

In the ninth year of Bunye, (1272), the tomb at Ōtani, north of Torinobe, on the western slope of Higashiyama, was removed sometime during the winter to the western part of the same grounds north of Yoshimidzu, where the remains were deposited. A temple was built and his image enshrined there.

In those days, the religion transmitted from the Shōnin was flourishing with more vitality than ever, and the teach-

ing bequeathed by him found a wider acceptance than during his lifetime. His disciples filled every province and every county, and his followers increased all over the land, numbering many millions. Those who kept his instructions in deep reverence and felt sincerely grateful to him, monks as well as laymen, the old as well as the young, year after year, all came here to pay their homage at the shrine.

As to so many wonderful things which happened in his lifetime, I cannot begin to enumerate them now, and it is to my great regret that I have to omit them.

## THE RELIGION OF SHINRAN SHŌNIN

THE religion of Shinran Shōnin, that is, the teaching of the Shin Sect is summarised by one word "faith," which is one of the four subjects treated in his principal work known as the *Doctrine, Practice, Faith, and Attainment*. How the author considered this subject may be inferred from the special prefatory remark which he attached to the book devoted to its discussion. In this preface he emphasises the significance of faith, and to support his position he quotes passages from the scriptures as well as from the writings of Indian, Chinese, and Japanese Buddhist philosophers. Based upon the discourse thus advanced by Shinran Shōnin as to the meaning and content of faith, I wish to consider in this article the following four points concerning the doctrine of faith:

1. Giving (*dāna*) and Transferring (*parināmanā*);
2. Knowledge and faith;
3. Transcendentality of faith;
4. The conception of sin, and salvation by faith.

### I

The teaching of Shakyamuni, according to the Agama literature, principally consists in the ideas of giving, of observing the moral precepts, and of being born in the Heavens: the Mahayana, as far as its practical method of attaining enlightenment was concerned, also emphasised the idea of giving and morally conducting oneself. For the Six Virtues of Perfection, or the six virtues that will carry one across the stream of samsara (birth and death) to the other shore of immortality are headed by giving (*dāna*) and by moral conduct (*śīla*), which are followed by patience or humility (*kṣānti*), energy

(*virya*), meditation (*dhyāna*), and wisdom (*prajñā*). The idea of giving has a far deeper spiritual meaning than is ordinarily supposed, and its logical culmination is the essentially Buddhist notion of transference (*pariṇāmanā*), especially Shinran's doctrine of Amida-transference.

The doctrine of giving existed in India prior to Buddhism, together with the ideas of morality and rebirth in the Heavens, but the Buddha gave a new and deeper meaning to these ideas. Ordinarily, giving simply means the transference of the right of possession from one person to another, notably such acts of charity as are practised by rich men for their less fortunate fellow-creatures. But in case of the poor themselves how could this doctrine of giving be practised? If giving is one of the essential virtues to be practised by every creature who wants to be a Buddha, the Buddhist giving must not be the giving of something material, which alone the rich can claim to be in possession of more abundantly than the poor. Besides, material giving admits quantitative differences, which may affect the merits of giving itself. As long as giving is confined to things material, the intrinsic virtue of the act will be lost sight of. To be religiously significant, the idea of giving must be transformed from merely material into spiritual. However rich one may be in possession of gold, estate, fine mansions, horses, carriages, servants, etc., these are after all perishable things and have no value whatever from the point of religion. True, even these are quite frequently found hard to give up. But there is one thing equally possessed by the poor as well as by the rich, the giving of which will really constitute a religious deed of the utmost importance. This is giving away the Self, the last stronghold of every conscious being, rich or poor, noble or lowly, in which all his interests are centered and by which all his material possessions are grasped. If he could deliver this up to the altar of Buddhahood, nothing could really estimate this

merit. Therefore, the Buddha distinguishes between material giving and the giving of the self and teaches that those who give up their riches may be reborn in heaven as they have detached themselves from the idea of the permanence of things, whereas those who give up their egotism will be rewarded with the attainment of Nirvana. For in the latter alone the deepest religious signification of giving is fully brought out. That the Jātaka Tales are rich in stories of self-sacrifice proves how much this has occupied the mind of every pious Buddhist. No wonder then that Shinran as an orthodox expounder of the true spirit of the founder of Buddhism believes in Amida as the Great Giver who gives his self to all beings for their spiritual welfare. In the Avatamsaka Sutra, Amida is described, while he was still a Bodhisattva, as having practised the virtue of giving to the point of sacrificing his body and life for the sake of all sentient beings. The doctrine of salvation as taught by Shinran is no more than this giving up of our selves in answer to the giving out of his infinite love on the part of Amida. In other words, this giving up of self is the transferring of one's self over to another, which is the sense of parināmanā, and the faith of the Shin followers is based on Amida's giving up of the self for the sake of all beings.

As the transferring taught by Shinran is giving in its deeper sense, all acts of transference must be giving away what belongs to oneself whether this be material or spiritual. But can one really give away all that one may have? In practical life this is an almost impossible deed. Even things which are ultimately to perish are hard to part with; they do not actually belong to the self, for the latter is unable to control the final destiny of them; but still we all cling to them as if they constituted part of ourselves. How much harder it must be to give up the very self which means the entirety of this individual being! This is especially the case

with modern people who are firm believers, whether true or false, in the finality of the ego. But apart from the practical side of the question, is the giving up of the entire self possible theoretically, so that nothing of the self will be left behind? When the self is given up, the giver is still there; for the act of giving is only possible when there is one who gives and to one whom something is given. However far we may go, there always remains the giver that will do the act of giving. As long as there is an idea of giving somewhere in one's consciousness, this self-differentiation will go on forever, and no final giving up of the self will be possible. If one wants to be an absolute giver in whom there will be no dualism of the giving and the given, such a giver must go altogether beyond the idea of giving. When this is done, there will be a shifting of positions, and one that gives will be now one that is given. All the stages of parināmanā to which the Mahayana sutras make constant reference are, except the last stage, the giving of the self on the plane of relativity; that is, in them all there is always present a residue of selfhood, which is altogether gotten rid of at the tenth and final stage of parināmanā; for here the dualistic giving is transcended and the giving means the given. This is technically known as "transference by the Other" in contradistinction to "transference by the Ego." The former is absolute while the latter is relative. The teaching of Shinran is founded upon this idea of absolute transference when Amida transfers or gives up his all to us, and we, by giving up all that is to be given up of our selfhood, are enriched by becoming recipients of Amida's love. The philosophy of the Shin teaching as expounded in Shinran's *Doctrine, Practice, Faith, and Attainment* is the growth of this fundamental idea of parināmanā, which is, as we have seen, the spiritual interpretation of the idea of giving, so highly valued by all religion.



## II

Having seen how the idea of giving taught by the Mahayanists as well as by the Hinayanists came to result in what is technically known as the transferring of Amida's love to all beings, let me now consider Prajñā (knowledge) which comes last in the enumeration of the Six Virtues of Perfection (*Pāramitās*). This subject was most thoroughly studied by Nāgārjuna early in the history of Mahayana Buddhism. He is now regarded as the founder in fact of all the sects of the Mahayana, but in the beginning of his career as religious leader and philosopher he was a devoted Hinayanist. When he came to study the Avatamsaka Sutra his views of Buddhism underwent a great revolution, and ever since he remained the most learned and most militant Mahayanist. The Avatamsaka, together with the Prajñāpāramitā Sutra, is one of the principal texts of Mahayana Buddhism, and it was indeed through his literary activity that these two sutras came to be so recognised by all the later Buddhists. In his commentaries on the sutras he was quite emphatic in upholding the idea of prajñā as the foundation of all religious life. I now propose to see what he means by prajñā which was so closely connected with Shinran's teaching of "faith."

Nāgārjuna starts from the consideration of a common-sense view of prajñā, and in this case prajñā is what we ordinarily understand by knowledge. Knowledge is always dualistic in its making and presupposes the existence of an opposition, inner and outer, or subject and object. Seeing is possible; for there is a thing seen and one who sees. So with knowing; knower is no knower unless he has something known. Knowledge is judgment, and judgment naturally has two things to judge. Therefore, knowledge is always relative and conditioned. How then did Nāgārjuna come to the conception of absolute knowledge, prajñā, which is infinite and

universally valid? There are always some limits to our experience, for it is finite; while the objective world extending in space and continuing in time is infinite. The finite ego is apparently unable to stand contrasted to the illimitableness of the world. As long as this contrast is to be kept up, there will be no way for absolute knowledge to issue, which is however needed for the realisation of perfect enlightenment, the essence of Buddhahood. Nāgārjuna had to solve the following two difficulties before he could establish his theme:

a. The objective world to be known by the subject is measureless, therefore our limited knowledge cannot grasp the entirety of things that stand over against it. It will be impossible to deduce "supreme knowledge" (*prajñā*) from the consideration of relative knowledge gained through experience.

b. Even when our relative knowledge can exhaust the objective world, there still remains the knowing subject unfathomed; as long as there exists one thing unreached by our knowledge, this knowledge is not absolute and supreme.

According to Nāgārjuna the first difficulty is self-contradictory and does not exist in truth. How can one know the infinitude of the objective world when one on hypothesis has yet no absolute knowledge? The world may be finite for all we know. No attribute, either finite or infinite, can be ascribed to the objective world as long as the nature of knowledge remains quite undefined. But for argument's sake let us, whether dogmatically or not, admit the infinitude of the world, and what do we have to say of its knowledge by the subject? Inasmuch as the world stands to the latter as its object, whatever qualifications we may give to the one must be also those of the other; otherwise, there will be no correspondence between the two, and hence no possibility of knowledge in any form. But as there cannot be two absolutes, the knowing subject and the known object must be regarded as one if either one of them is to be thought of as transcending all



idealised by Shinran, gives an illuminating story in his commentary on the Sutra of Meditation on Amida, which is one of the three sutras establishing the doctrine of the Shin Sect. The story illustrates the Shin Sect's conception of *parināmanā* (turning over).

There was once a wanderer travelling from east to west across a vast prairie. One day without any foreknowledge he found himself confronting two streams, the left one of which was a burning fire while the right one was flooded with water. Both were bottomless, and nobody could see the other shore; they were so deep, so wide. Between the two abysses however there was a very narrow white-looking line, only several inches in breadth, and this was the sole passageway for those who wished to go from east to west. To walk along the road washed all the time by fire and water, was quite a perilous undertaking for anybody, however brave-hearted and dauntless. The traveller now standing at the eastern end of it trembled at the sight, and had no heart to risk his life. When he looked backward, he sighted a band of robbers and a pack of wild beasts, all of whom were hastily following his track. He was terror-stricken, but found time to reflect within himself: "If I turn back, the robbers would surely fall upon me; even if I could evade them, the beasts would not let me. But if I venture onward, how could I escape being swallowed up either by water or fire? Death encompasses me on all sides. My end is come any way. Why not then boldly move forward?" When thus finally his mind was made up, he heard some one calling him by name—the voice came from the other end of the narrow path. "With right thought and singleness of heart, walk on without hesitation. I will protect you, fear not being drowned in fire or water." Infinitely encouraged by this voice, he resolutely stepped onward and reached in safety the western bank of the streams.

He was now in the land of bliss, eternally peaceful and

filled with feelings of universal brotherhood,—no distinctions were made there, racial or national.

This parable, as we all can readily understand, depicts our life on earth where adverse circumstances assail us on all sides, and we all often pause to think about the ultimate signification of life. The other shore where peace prevails, is no doubt the ideal land of Buddhists who all believe in universal brotherhood.

By the two shores of the stream the philosopher means the opposition of finite and infinite, over which spans the bridge of religion. When this bridge is studied intellectually we have philosophy; when it is constructed by faith we have the white passage of religion.

The parable was not original with Zendo, he borrowed it from the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra, Chapter XXIII. Its most primitive form, however, appears in the Samyukta Āgama, No. XLIII, as well as in the sutra known as "The Parable of a Venomous Serpent," which is quoted by Nāgārjuna in his encyclopedic commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā Sutra, Fas. XII.

What concerns me most at present in this Parable of the Two Streams is the "White Path," the deep meaning of which must be considered now in connection with Shinran's idea of *parināmanā* (turning over).

In the "Parable of a Venomous Serpent" no mention is yet made of the white passage; what corresponds to the latter in the older form is the rafter which is temporarily manufactured by the traveller in order to cross the sea of *samsara*. The Buddha is represented here to have compared "this side" of the stream to this worldly life, "the other shore" to Nirvana, the "one who crosses" to the Arhat, and finally the "rafter" to the Eightfold Right Path. References are about the same in the Samyukta-Āgama, XLIII; we notice here that the contrast of the two banks in

and committed horrible crimes. Devadatta was his evil friend and adviser. The king thought only of the present life, gave himself up to pleasures of the senses, murdered his father Bimbisāra, and gave great pain to his mother Vaidehī. But later in his life a bitter remorse deeply gnawed into his heart, and his entire body was covered with sores emitting an unapproachable odour. He reflected, "This is all due to my past evil ways: if I have thus to suffer even in this life, what would my future be? Certainly I am destined for hell." He had no time to rest being mentally and physically harassed in his bed. But his mother did not leave him at this critical moment of his life, tenderly nursing and comforting her ungrateful son. Not being able to bear all this torture, the king said to her: "Mother, my disease is not merely of the body, it comes from my own soul. There is nobody in the world who can cure me of this horrible decaying disease of mind and body. Because of my sins and crimes, I am bound for hell."

One of his ministers, Candrayāsa came in to pay his respect and asked, "Your Majesty seems to be very much broken down, how is your illness?"

"Not only in my body," answered the king, "but in my mind, I am incurably sick. All this comes from the murdering of my own father who was so good to me. A disease of this nature nobody can cure."

Said the minister: All illness is of the mind, your Majesty; the more troubled in mind, the more aggravating will be the physical discomfort. You worry too much about going to hell, but who ever visited hell? According to Purana, the philosopher, there are no such things as we call evil or good in this world. Nor is there any hell where so-called evil-doers are destined. How would it do if you have a talk with this philosopher?"

Later, another officer came in to visit the king and said:

"Your Majesty's constant reference to the murdering of king Bimbisāra is not quite right. Though judicially such deeds are punishable, the law of growth often demands destruction in some form. There is a philosopher living in this city, he is Markari-gosaliputra and teaches that our body is made of seven elements which are earth, water, fire, air, pain, pleasure, and life, and that none of these elements can be injured. If so, no murdering in fact can ever take place though apparently there may be one killed; and if there is no real murdering, who is there that is to suffer from the deed?"

One of the ministers by the name of Shin-Té (Real Virtue) came in now, and said to the king: "Your Majesty need not be remorseful about the murdering of your father. For the sake of national welfare and peace, such deeds are perfectly excusable. While you seem to think that there can possibly be no physician to cure your illness, we know of a great philosopher who may restore you to your former health. His name is Sanjaya-vairadiputra. According to his doctrine, the sovereign is above the law, and everything is permissible for him, even things ordinarily considered crimes he may safely commit. Besides, teaches the philosopher, we are all to be reborn on this earth after death, and there are no such places as hell where sinners are supposed to be destined. Why then should your Majesty be troubled with the thought of future punishment? See this teacher who is sure to save you from all eternal torture."

Another adviser approached the king, a courtier called Hsi-chih-yi (All-knower). He said, "Your Majesty is not the only person who replaced the father from the throne, and then no murderers so-called are ever reported to have gone to hell. Some of the reigning kings in this country are in the same position as you are, yet they are not worried over their past deeds, nor are they tormented by the notion of hell. It may please your Majesty to discard all the gloomy thoughts

under which you are so terribly oppressed."

When Chi-Tè (Auspicious Merit), one of his ministers, came to give the king a further advice, the king said to him : "You all tell me not to worry about my past deeds, but how could one not worry about them? Did not one of our moral teachers say, 'Even when you are pierced through with three hundred spears, you ought not to think of giving any injury to your own parents'? I am approaching every minute the everlasting fire of hell. What a wretched creature I am!"

To this answered the minister: "Who ever told you that there was hell after this life? Such a notion is the creation of an idle philosopher. It has no real existence. O your Majesty! consider the laws of nature: when wheat is planted wheat grows; when rice is sown, rice is raised. So with man; after death, man comes back as man. And again, O your Majesty, murdering or killing is impossible in reality. From the point of view of the Atman, who is there really that can put an end to Atman which is immortal? But has the Atman no real existence, being subject to constant change? If so, we are dying every minute, murderers as well as the murdered. That is to say, there are neither murderers nor the murdered. Your Majesty has no cause whatever to be horror-stricken about your situation."

The sixth and last adviser was Wu-so-wei (Fearless) who comforted the king in this wise: "There is really nothing to grieve for your Majesty. A king has the right for the sake of the state as well as for the weal of the Brahmins to kill anybody that stands in his way. There is no crime whatever. Your predecessor was too partial to the Buddhists and paid no regard to the Brahmins. He was lacking in the virtue of sameness. That your Majesty put his father king out of the way of the Brahmins, was perfectly justifiable. And again to kill another means to put a stop to his life, but life is breath, and breath like air could not be injured in

any way. Says the ascetic philosopher Nirgrantha-jātīputra to this effect that there is in truth nothing good or bad, enlightened or confused, all these ideas await their solution in Time, which alone is reality and in which every being finds its ultimate deliverance without worrying itself about it. If this be so, the killing of one's father presents no problem whatever and your Majesty's terrible anguish has no foundation."

With all these smooth counsels and empty philosophisings the king remained unconsoled, indeed if anything his pain in mind and body increased for evermore.

Jivaka was a physician to the king, and when he entered the sick man's chamber, the king opened his heart to him, saying, "My illness is no ordinary illness, and perhaps no physician, no medicine, no magic can cure me, for it comes from the agony of my soul. The enemy of the Buddha, the murderer of one's own father who never committed any crime, how can he ever sleep in peace?"

Jivaka said: "Even a great sinner is saved by repentance, and relieved of pain. You have certainly performed evil deeds in your past, but you are now repenting them from the depths of your heart. According to the Buddha there are two things that will cleanse sinners of their stain: one is *hri* and the other *apatrāpyam*. Both mean shame: the first is awakened against oneself, and the second is felt in one's relation to others. By the first one is restrained from doing violence to one's own nature; by the second one restrains others from committing evils. This first is directed towards humanity, the other towards heaven. Those that are shameless in either way are not human, they are beasts. Because of this feeling we live happily together with one another. It is most fortunate that your Majesty is most sincerely remorseful.

"The Buddha teaches, the wise may commit evils, but

they know how to repent, while ignorant evil-doers will conceal their crimes. For those who repent and commit no more evils there is salvation. It is like placing a sacred jewel in murky water, which is thereby cleansed and reflects once more a moon bright and serene. When your Majesty feels repentance and is ashamed of his own past deeds, whatever sinful impurities he may have will surely be wiped out. The most dreadful thing one can do in the circumstances is to hide one's wrong deeds, for thereby the crime will shoot its roots down deeper yet. Such are walking straightway towards hell. Therefore, it is taught by all the Buddhas not to conceal one's sins and wear an innocent face. Your Majesty is now really believing in the law of causation, in karma, and its inevitable consequence. This is no cause for grief.

"The only being of all the four classes of people that is considered unsavable is the *Icehanti* who has no Buddha-nature in him, but in Buddhism there prevails the principle of universal salvation, and even those *Icehantis* are not left out by the love of the Buddha. All the human races stand on equality. There are no real distinctions to be made between people. Only those are *Icehantis* that are positively committed to the four classes of evil ways, that have no faith in the laws of causation, that feel no shame over their own sins, and that make all good friends turn their backs to the teachings of the Buddhas. To those who repent and confess, the name of *Icehanti* is inapplicable, for they are sure to be embraced by the merciful vows of the Buddha. Besides, your Majesty belongs to the *Kshatriya* even when we make the racial groupings and has every reason to be saved.

"You may not have much faith in my words; if so, come to the Buddha himself who is twelve *yojanas* away from here in the city of *Kusinagara* where he is about to enter *Nirvana*. He is not only the teacher of all that are actually following his steps but the teacher of all beings in

all walks of life. Not only kings and rich people come to him but the poor and lowly, and they are all impartially received by him. Even desperate criminals are saved by him, Angulimāla was one of such. The love of the Buddha is indeed beyond our understanding, for by him the hungry are fed, the maimed are restored, the beasts are tamed, and murderers are saved. Even the merit of feeding and dressing all sentient beings for one month does not excel that of thinking of the Buddha for a moment. One may exercise the virtue of charity by distributing car-loads after car-loads of precious articles, but it is far better to advance one step nearer towards the Buddha by awaking a devout heart in him. The time is now come for your Majesty to proceed at once to the place where the Buddha is delivering his last sermon on earth. May I accompany you?"

To this the king thoughtfully answered, "The Buddha is free from fault and stain, and those that are surrounding him are all Arhats also undefiled. On the other hand, I am the most depraved soul who once even contemplated injury to his holy life, and how can I dare approach him now?"

The king was then greatly excited and loudly cried out, "I hear a voice, I hear some one calling me!"

It was a voice in the air that he heard, "The depths of the Law are about to dry up, the great light of the Law is about to extinguish, the mountain of the Law is about to crumble, the boat of the Law is about to sink, the tree of the Law is about to break down, the Buddha-Sun is about to set down the great Nirvana mountain. O king, when the Buddha is no more here among us, your soul will never have a chance of healing, and the Avīci hell will be the only abode for you after death because of your dreadful sin. Out of great pity for you, you are urged to go to the Buddha without a moment's hesitation."

Hearing this voice, the king Ajataśatru trembled like a



leaf of the plantain tree before the wind, and looking up towards the sky he exclaimed, "Who are you thus calling me?"

The voice answered, "I am no other person than your own murdered father, Bimbisāra. Listen to Jivaka's advice, delay not your departure for the Buddha! Be quiet, O my son! Have no regards for the evil counsels of your officers."

The king was stricken and fainted away, with fever increased and sores smelling more offensively than ever.

In the meantime, the Buddha who was lying between the Sala trees saw with his mental eye the king falling on the ground, and said to his disciples; "I would never enter Nirvana until the evil-doer Ajataśatru is saved." He then entered a Samadhi called the Love of the Moon, and when the soft cooling rays of the moon-light shone upon the senseless body of the king, he at once felt so refreshed and cured of the disease. Rising from the floor, he asked Jivaka how this happened. He was told that this was all due to the love of the Buddha whose merciful heart is tender especially for sinners. The king at last made up his mind to come in the presence of the Buddha.

Seeing him approach, the Buddha said to the disciples: "Those who seek the truth must befriend good people. Without Jivaka the king may not escape the eternal punishment which is waiting him."

The king was struck by the majestic and yet tenderly loving figure of the Buddha, before whom he prostrated himself with the deepest feelings of reverence and trust: for the Buddha's merciful treatment of this greatest of sinners was such as to dispel all the anxiety, reluctance, and doubt that had been assailing his mind. The Buddha taught him in the main as follows:

1. You are grieved over the murdering of your father;

but are all these particular existences so fixed, so opposed to one another, that their mutual merging is impossible? Is the distinction between the killer and the killed so real and irrevocably permanent? If the Atman were eternally real, there could possibly be no killing of it from the very beginning. If the Atman were in essence empty, in emptiness there would be no killing either. In truth the absolute idea of non-Atman transcends the karmic law of cause and effect, and because of this transcendence there is no karma that will make you go to hell.

2. From the relative point of view of causation, the self is the sower and at the same time the reaper. Your father had something in him that invited a murderer, the cause was from the first in his being. You were an ascetic in your former life, and killed by your father when he was out hunting. When you were born in the family of your father, he paid his own debt by giving up life this time for you. If your father did not belong to the royalty, he would not have been killed by you; but on account of his former deeds of merit which consisted in making offerings to the Buddhas, he was born in a royal family. If your killing him were a crime, the Buddhas who, accepting the offerings of your father, enabled him to be born as king, would also have to share the crime.

3. In judging a human conduct it is necessary to consider two things: we must see, first, if it issues from his nature, and second, if he is not of his senses. Insane deeds do not constitute the cause for hell. If the king killed his father with his mind altogether out of reason, he is not necessarily bound for the Avici.

4. If killing is sinful, the killing of innocent animals must be sinful too. While you grieve so over the murder of your father, you are having so many sheep put out of life every day in your own palace. As to loving life and fearing

death, the lower animals are just like human beings. Why then so much anguish in one case and utter indifference in the other?

5. In short, all is suffering, all is unreal, impermanent, and there is no ego-entity. Mind and matter, they are equally unsubstantial, and therefore all the phenomena supposedly arising out of their interaction are not real and permanent. And because they are impermanent, they cause pain; and because of pain, they have no final reality, that is, they are empty. As all is empty, there is no ego-substratum behind all these phantasmagorical existences. There is neither slayer nor the slayed, and consequently no slaying at all.

After this discourse, king Ajatāśatru for the first time opened his eye into the secrets of being, where there were no such opposites as mentioned in the first part of this article, that is, the opposites of pure and defiled, good and bad, pain and pleasure, being and non-being. He grasped the absolute truth itself transcending the phenomenality of things, yet at the same time he did not fail to look into the relativity of all conditioned objects.

Thus filled with joy, the king said to the Buddha:

"I have now for the first time penetrated into the great truth of impermanence and non-ego. Because of my ignorance of this truth, I have committed great crimes in my past. My mind was all confused as to the true significance of such ideas as Permanence, Happiness, Ego, and Purity. It was altogether due to this confusion and irrationality that I was prompted to murder my own father. I now truly understand what the Buddha meant when he said he was the father of all beings. The law of causation is that the eranda plant produces its own poisonous fruit, but now I see the sandal wood growing out of the eranda seed. In my heart there is awakened Rootless Faith, by which I mean that I who had formerly no roots of faith within me and did not know how to revere the Buddha,

his Doctrine, and Sangha, have for the first time awakened great faith in them all. I am now saved miraculously from the everlasting fire."

Said the Buddha, "O king, well said! Through this faith of yours all beings will also have their evil hearts subdued."

"If my faith," said the king, "would save all beings from the torments of their evil hearts, I would not mind myself entering into the lowest abyss and endure all the infernal torture for the sake of all beings." So firm was now the faith of the king in the Buddha. The king then turned to Jivaka the physician and thanked him for his kind guidance without which he would not have experienced such a heavenly joy even before he was born in heaven. The king was now sure of his eternal life which was not subject to the vicissitudes of this earthly one. Making many offerings to the Buddha the king most feelingly praised the virtue of the Buddha with the following verse:

"The words of the Tathagata are of one taste,  
Like unto the waters in the great ocean:  
They are called the First Truth,  
And therefore in them there is nothing devoid of meaning,

"What Tathagata now teaches  
Is so infinitely full of signification:  
Men and women, the great and the small,  
All listening, equally attain to the First Principle.

"Causeless and effectless,  
Birthless and deathless,—  
Such is great Nirvana:  
Those that listen are all freed from entanglements.

"To all beings the Tathagata  
Is the father and mother always full of love;  
Know that all beings are  
The Tathagata's children.

"Out of great love for all beings,  
The Blessed One endureth all pain;  
For they are as if possessed by evil spirits  
And addicted to all deeds of madness.

"Because I have been able to see the Buddha,  
Good is my threefold karma thus gained.  
May I turn over this merit of mine  
To the cause of the Supreme Wisdom!"

The above is the story of king Ajataśatru as recorded in the *Manāparinirvāna Sūtra* and quoted by Shinran in his "Book of Faith" to illustrate the teaching of the Shin Sect which is practically the religion of salvation from sin. Incidentally I wish to remark that this story as in the case of the "Parable of Two Streams" is found originally in the *Āgamas* (The Longer Collection XVII, and the Numerical Collection, XXXIX, etc.). In the Mahayana sutra, the apparent motive of the visit of Ajataśatru is his wish to escape from the torturing fever and the certainty of a future punishment, and the general style of description is intensely dramatic, highly tinged with psychological and religious colour. In this we notice stages of development through which the story of the king's repentance, like the "Parable of Two Streams," has gone during the long history of Buddhism in India, China, and in this country. And this history is no other than the history of the Dharma as it first dawned in the mind of the Buddha while he was quietly meditating on the meaning of life under the Bodhi-tree, and the history of the Shin Sect founded by Shinran as the religion of absolute faith and salvation is no other than that of the faith so miraculously awakened in the inmost recesses of the heart of Ajataśatru, which was heavily laden with remorse and yet unable to rise by himself from the consciousness of sin. In other words, the religion of Shinran is established in the idea of "giving," or "transferring" as the term was interpreted in the beginning of

this paper,—the transferring of Amida's love on the believing hearts of all sentient beings. Here we have the glorious culmination of Buddhist faith as it came to Japan travelling through the various nations of Asia.

GESSEHO SASAKI

## THE BUDDHA AND SHINRAN

### I

The teaching of the Buddha as is recorded in the Āgamas as well as in the Vinaya texts is quite plain and does not necessarily require the comments of the Abhidharma literature; for it simply consists in the Fourfold Noble Truth, the Twelve Chains of Causation, the Eightfold Path, and other lessons, whereby the monks were mentally disciplined so as to come finally to the realisation of Nirvana. The main object of the teaching thus was to free oneself from the bondage of worldly desires and enjoyments and to attain a life of moral purity, wisdom, and power. That this was the gist of primitive Buddhism so called is attested by the Pali Buddhist texts and the Four Āgamas in Chinese translations.

This being so, how did the teaching of Mahayana Buddhism develop from such a comparatively simple system of thought? This is the natural question raised by any critics in touch with the progress of modern textual studies of Buddhism. The wide gap, while only apparently existing between the Mahayana and the Hinayana, caused many devout followers of the Buddha to turn away from the former. According to the Mahāvansa, the orthodox Buddhists of Ceylon went so far as to burn all the Mahayana texts introduced there from the main land, and this happened more than once. But the object of the present article is not to discuss the compilation of the Buddhist texts of various schools;\* it is rather to trace the reason why such Mahayana texts as the Sukhāvati-vyūha-Sūtra had to grow out of the religious consciousness of the primitive Buddhists, and further to expound

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\* Cf. Professor Uyi's article, "On the Development of Buddhism in India," *The Eastern Buddhist*, Vol. 1, Nos. 5 and 6.

the teaching of Shinran, who popularised by means of the Sukhāvati doctrine the deep truth most inwardly realised by the Buddha.

## II

The teaching of Shinran which is based on the Sukhāvati-vyūha is essentially faith in Amida, in which are included all merits and from which eternal life and ideals have a start; and this faith is obtained by conversion and confession. By conversion is meant a religious experience in which the whole system of mental life gets a thorough renovation, and by confession I mean the feeling of shame for one's sinful life and that of gratitude for salvation. It goes without saying that here is already the recognition of Amida as saviour and the awakening of faith as something given to one from the loving hand of the Buddha.

Having thus defined Shinran's teaching, let us now consider the primitive group of Buddhists as described in the Vinaya texts and the Āgamas. It is evident that this group was composed of Bhikshus, Bhikshunis, Upāsakas, and Upāsikās. Naturally the first two elements occupied the most important position as orthodox followers of the Buddha, who abandoned the home life to devote themselves exclusively to the attainment of spiritual deliverance. They were therefore highly revered by the lay-disciples as one of the Three Treasures. But the lay-disciples (Upāsakas and Upāsikās) were not excluded from the Brotherhood inasmuch as they could also attain to spiritual realisation. This is shown by the following passage from the Samyukta Āgamas, XXXIV: "O Gautama, if this Dharma is attainable by Gautama only and not by the Bhikshus and Bhikshunis, this life of sanctity is imperfect. If this is not attainable equally by the Upāsakas and Upāsikās, whether they are leading an ascetic life or a life of pleasure, the Dharma is imperfect. But as it is



attainable universally by all kinds of people, this life of sanctity is perfect. O Gautama, all the waters of the Ganga tend and are directed toward the ocean and stay there where they are poured into it; so it is with the followers of Gautama; whether they are homeless monks or householders, they all tend and are directed towards Nirvana and stay there after they are poured into it."

What kind of religion was it then that was embraced by householders? When Yaśa left his home to follow the path of the Buddha shortly after the establishment of Buddhism, Yaśa's father pursued him but was converted to Buddhism and became the first lay-disciple of the Buddha. He expressed his faith in the following formula:

"I take my refuge in the Buddha, in the Dharma, and in the Sangha; may the Buddha receive me from this day forth while my life lasts as a disciple who has taken his refuge." (*Mahāvagga*.)

Here we see this formula used by the first lay-disciple of the Buddha was that of the "Holy Triad," which means that the lay-disciple confessed his faith in taking refuge in the Three Treasures (*Triratna*).

In the Samyutta-Nikāya, (Vol. I, p. 25.) we have the following:

"Faith is the 'other I', the mate of men.  
Thence, if he tarry not in disbelief,  
His shall be followers and fair renown,  
And when he quits this frame to heaven he goes." \*

The remarkable expression used in this verse is, "Faith is the other I." In other words, when we have faith, the "ego" ordinarily regarded as one's own turns into the other

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\* Saddhā dutiyā purisassa hoti,  
No ce assaddhiyam avatitthati,  
Yaso ca kitti ca tatvassa hoti,  
Saggam ca so gacchati sariram pahāya ti.

ego not belonging to the original self; is this not conversion, the turning of one thing into another?

Again we read in the Samyutta Nikāya, (LV, p. 21):  
 "Mahānāma said to the Buddha: 'While Kapilavastu is a flourishing city, the path leading to the monastery is lonely, and when I come back into the city at night, all by myself, after serving the Buddha, the feeling of fear often overcomes me taking my thought away from the Three Treasures. If I happen to die at this moment, there is a retrogression.' To this replied the Buddha, 'Your everyday faith will not be interfered with by the conditions of death.'"

A little further down (p. 22), *op. cit.*, we have, "When the faith in the Three Treasures is established in your daily life, it is like the tree that will fall in the direction where it used to lean."\*

When one's faith is firmly established once for all in his everyday life, the Buddha assures us that there will be no danger of losing it altogether even if we die assailed by fear, anger, and other uncomfortable feelings. The Buddha-ego has replaced the human ego at the time when we have awakened to the life of faith and realised the turning of thought in ourselves. Whatever disturbances that may take place on the surface of our consciousness are like the waves of the ocean whose depth remains forever calm and serene. This is why Shinran emphasises so much the importance of having one's faith firmly established in his daily life.

"What is the content of such faith then?

"Mahānāma asked the Buddha, 'What is the Upāsaka?'

\* .... 摩訶男來詣佛所... 白佛言·世尊·此迦毘羅衛國安穩豐樂人民熾盛我每出入時衆多翼從·狂象·狂人·狂乘常與是俱·我自恐與此諸狂俱生俱死忘於念佛念法念比丘僧·我自思惟·命終之時·當生何處·佛告摩訶男·莫恐莫恐·命終之後不生惡趣... 譬如大樹順下順注順輸若截根本當墮何處·摩訶男·汝亦如是.... 汝已長夜修習念佛念法念僧若命終時此身若火燒若棄塚間... 而心意識久遠·長夜正信所薰戒施聞慧所薰初識上昇向守樂處...

Replied the Buddha, 'He is the one who takes refuge in the Three Treasures.'

"What then is the faith of Upāsaka?' Asked again Mahānāma. To this the Buddha said, 'It is to believe in the Bodhi (supreme knowledge) of the Tathāgata.' "\*

By this we know what is to be understood by the lay-disciple's faith, for it is believing in the Three Treasures of Buddhism, which is in turn believing in the spiritual attainment of the Buddha. In the terms of the preceding passage from the Samyutta Nikāya, Buddhist faith is to replace "my" ego by the "other" ego which forever remains undisturbed by external threats and inward stirrings, and through the strength of which all is prevented from ever going astray in his life.

### III

Allusion was made, in one of the previous quotations from the Dīgha Nikāya (in Pali) and from the Chinese Samyukta Āgama, XXXIV, to those householders who are leading a life of pleasure. These were mentioned as also belonging to the membership of the Buddhist community, they are good Buddhists just as much as those householders who are practising a life of purity. The Chinese Āgama (雜阿含三十四) is more explicit as to the particulars of a "life of pleasure."

We read thus: "There are not only one or two or

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\* Samyutta Nikāya, LV, p. 37.

Kittāvatā nu kho bhante upāsako hoti ti|| Yato kho Mahānāma  
Buddham saranam gate hoti|| Dhamman saranam gato hoti||  
Sangham saranam gato hoti|| ettāvatā kho Mahānāma upasako hoti  
ti||

Kittāvatā pana bhante Upāsako saddhasampanno hoti ti||  
Idha Mahānāma Upāsako hoti saddahati Tathāgatassa bodhim||

Of the following from the Vimāla-Kīrti Sūtra: 文殊師利又問生死有  
長菩薩當何所依 維摩詰言菩薩於生死長中當依如來功德之力 (維摩詰所說經卷  
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three or even up to five hundred Upāsakas, but many, many more yet. They are householders married and with children, they enjoy the five pleasures, they decorate themselves with perfumery and flowers, they keep and feed maids and servants. But they have in accordance with this Law cut off the three entanglements and are weak in avarice, anger, and infatuation; they have attained the Sakridāgāmin (Coming Once) and, after being reborn once in heavens and once on earth, will end this life of suffering."

And again: "There are not only one or two or three or even up to five hundred Upāsikās, but there are many, many more yet. They are householders, they keep and feed men and women, they are used to the enjoyments of the five pleasures, they decorate themselves with perfumery and flowers. But they have in accordance with this Law put an end to the three entanglements, have attained the Śrotapanna, will not fall into the evil ways as they are definitely walking toward the Supreme Knowledge (*bodhi*)...."

The Upāsikā is a woman lay-disciple of the Buddha and the Upāsaka is a man lay-disciple, and the Buddha according to these passages from the Āgamas did not make any distinction between the two classes of his followers, as both are assured of their spiritual attainment. What is more remarkable in this connection is that all these householders with their worldly enjoyments and aspirations are not excluded from Buddhism as long as they live in accordance with the Dharma. To follow a commentator, "the five pleasures" which these lay-disciples are said to enjoy are those originating from the five senses which are colour, sound, odour, taste and touch. According to another commentator, these pleasures are those arising from property, sex, eating and drinking, reputation, and sleep. Whichever way we may understand the "five pleasures," they evidently belong to what we generally designate a worldly life.

At this juncture a question arises as to the conditions of admittance, which are required of the lay-disciples as good Buddha-followers. Was the Threefold Refuge Formula enough for them? Or did they also have to accept the five Precepts? Another way of putting this question is to inquire into the relation between spiritual strength and its practical demonstrations, or the relation between belief and behaviour; but from the practical point of view, those lay-disciples of the Buddha, who have thus eyes open to the truth of the teaching of the Buddha and are confirmed in their trust in the Three Treasures, will naturally manifest their inner strength thus gained in one form or another, in their outward lives, for instance, by observing the Five precepts set down by the Buddha for the practical guidance of their worldly life. The acceptance of the Refuge Formula will logically issue in that of the Five Precepts also.\* But how far can the worldly life of a lay-disciple be compatible with the Five Precepts? The Precepts are: 1. Do not kill; 2. Do not steal; 3. Do not commit adultery; 4. Do not lie; and 5. Do not drink liquor.

In this we see all the five pleasures except sleep put under a certain restriction. As to the precept of not killing living things, it is not necessarily the curbing of a desire, but a positive expression of compassion. If it is taken simply as a restraint, it will apply to the case of craving for animal food or hunting animals for its excitement. As regards not lying, those who have realised the truth with themselves will naturally speak out that truth, but as a prohibitive rule it

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\* Mr Makoto Nagai, of the Tokyo Imperial University, states in his recent *Studies in Primitive Buddhism*, Chapter IV, that in the Chinese Āgamas the Refuge Formula as well as the Five Precepts are mentioned as the conditions of formally being received into the Buddhist community, but that in the Pali texts except those belonging to a later period, the Refuge Formula only is prescribed. We observe, in the case of Yasa's father also, there is no mention of the Five Precepts, but only of the Refuge Formula.

applies to making money or earning a reputation by means of falsehoods.

The Five Precepts may thus be regarded as a kind of reins or bits to keep our passions under restraint; for when passions are left to run their course, one may even have to lose one's own life. The precepts are both for control and for protection, though in a sense moral rules are more than restraint, and in fact are expressions of one's inner life. When the precepts are understood to be the mere curbing of one's unruly desires by outside force, their violation does not always mean depravity or loss of faith; but if the precepts are seen in the light of one's inner life, the failure to observe them will be a great spiritual retrogression.

There was once a man of the Shakya family by the name of Hundred-Handed. He violated the fifth precept concerning liquor, but when he died, the Buddha assured his attaining the Śrotapanna and being kept away from the evil paths. As Mahānāma asked the Buddha how this was possible, the Buddha explained for him and his brethren that there are seven kinds of his disciples who are kept away from the evil paths. Then concluded the Buddha: "O Mahānāma, when Hundred-Handed of the Shakya family died, he kept his holy precepts inviolate abandoning the taking of liquor. Therefore, I say he had attained to the Śrotapanna." In spite of this man's non-observance of the fifth precept sometime in his life, he was a devout Buddhist, he believed in the Buddha as the teacher of the Holy Doctrine, he believed in the Dharma, and finally he believed in the Sangha as the congregation of the followers of the Holy Doctrine; and his belief was pure and simple. On this account, the Buddha saw in him the certainty of not falling into evil ways. (See the Samyukta-Āgama, XXXIV.) This tolerant attitude of the Buddha towards such occasionally inattentive stragglers as long as their inner faith in the Three Treasures was absolute,

conclusively proves that faith was all important and that thoughtlessness was not necessarily the cause for retrogression or loss of faith.

#### IV

When we consider Buddhism in its first stage of development, we must not forget the group of those "worldly" householder-disciples of the Buddha, who came to him with just as much devotion and reverence as the monks and nuns who constituted the main body of the Brotherhood. In all likelihood, the number of these lay-followers must have exceeded that of the homeless ones. While we have no authentic records to support our supposition in the Buddhist literature in our possession at present, it is not at all irrational to make this statement that as the Buddha extended the fields of itineration and as the Brotherhood grew larger and more influential, there must have grown around the Buddha and the Sangha quite a large congregation of "worldly" devotees, who, accepting the Refuge Formula, also looked after the material side of the monks' life. As the great spiritual leader, the Buddha's moral influence must have reached far beyond his immediate circles. He did not make it the absolute condition of enlightenment or Nirvana to abandon the home and worldly life, he put the principal strength of his teaching in accepting the Refuge Formula as the expression of faith in the Three Treasures. This was the one thing that was needed. The life of saintliness as practised by the monks and nuns was praiseworthy enough, but if the Buddha's religion did not embrace those who stood outside this holy group, it could never stir up such a powerful general spiritual revolution as it actually did even in the earlier stages of Buddhism. The greatness of the Buddha lied in fact in the universal applicability of his teaching.

There is another thing to consider concerning this group

of lay-devotees of the Buddha. What was the content of their faith in the Three Treasures? There is no doubt that this was expressed by what we now call repentance. Repentance was not the whole content of their faith which had another side more positive and energising.\* But the feelings of gratitude, shame, and humility, which are implications of the notion of repentance, must have been awakened in the heart of a lay-disciple when he or she uttered the Refuge Formula before the Buddha. "Kshama" which is rendered in Chinese by 懺悔, an hybrid word half Sanskrit and half Chinese, while not existing in the literature belonging to the so-called primitive Buddhism, has the sense of asking forgiveness of another. The lay-devotees themselves might not have been conscious of the presence of this feeling in ordinary circumstances, but in case of an extraordinary circumstance, the feeling of repentance can be distinctly read in their hearts. To take an example from the Dighāgama, XVII, we have the case of king Ajatāsātru.

Confessed the King: "And now I betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the Truth, and to the Order. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as one who, from this day forth, as long as life endures, has taken his refuge in them. Sin has overcome me, Lord, weak and foolish and wrong that I am, in that, for the sake of sovereignty, I put to death my father, that righteous man, that righteous king! May the Blessed One accept it of me, Lord, that do acknowledge it as a sin, to the end that in future I may restrain my self."

"Verily, O king," said the Buddha, "it was sin that overcame you in acting thus. But inasmuch as you look

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\* In the case of monks or nuns, who repented the non-observance of their rules, they used the word, *Desayati* or *Desana Karaniyā*. This has more of the idea of communicating one's faults to others of the Brotherhood and is more moral than religious.



upon it as sin, and confess according to what is right, we accept your confession as to that. For that, O king, is custom in the discipline of the noble ones, that whosoever looks upon his fault, and rightly confesses it, shall attain to self-restraint in future." \*

In this most unusual instance, we see how the king, a great sinner, was prompted \* to come to the Buddha and confess his sin before him, and how grateful he felt in the acceptance of his confession on the part of the Buddha. The king was quite expressive in his acknowledgment of sin his was an extraordinary case; but in other cases where nothing so remarkable took place, the devotees may not be always conscious of what faults they committed. This is however a question of degrees. There must always be some consciousness of imperfection in the heart of any lay-disciple who comes to the Buddha and takes refuge in the Three Treasures. If the life of saintliness as practised by the monks and nuns is something ultimately desirable by all the followers of the Buddha, and yet if this desideratum cannot be attained by everybody because of the peculiar conditions of life in which he finds himself, he will naturally grow conscious of his shortcomings, of his being far from the ideal life prescribed by the Dharma. When a "turning" takes place in his heart and he is awakened to his own spiritual condition, the faith he thus acquires will shed light on his mortal life, and as he gets deeper into the depths of his religious consciousness, he will come more intimately in touch with the great stream

\* (Samañña-phaḷa Sutta, (The Fruits of the Life of a Recluse), *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 95.)

爾時阿闍世王即從坐起頭面禮佛足。白佛言。唯願世尊愛我悔過。我為狂愚癡冥無識。我父摩竭瓶沙王。以法治化無有偏枉。而我迷惑五欲。實害父王。唯願世尊。加哀愍。受我悔過。佛告王曰。汝愚冥無識。但自悔過。汝迷於五欲。乃害父王。今於賢聖法中。能悔過者。即自饒益。吾愍汝故。受汝悔過。

\* *The Life of Buddha*, by Rockhill, p. 90.

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running underneath all his life-activities. When this is attained, he cannot help but be grateful for this experience and at the same time feel ashamed of himself and quite humiliated. Faith thus expresses itself as repentance.

Most of the disciples had not much time to devote themselves to the study of Buddhist philosophy, nor were they so well equipped with speculative power as their brethren of the Sangha. And naturally their Buddhism was to be illustrated in a pragmatical way, which was perhaps more in accord with the spirit of the founder. If they had their hearts purgated for once from impurities, and even if this consciousness were only a momentary affair, they would have experienced a feeling of humiliation and gratitude—gratitude because they have found the “other” ego, the Buddha-ego, in place of their own selfish one, and humiliation because their daily life is far from being ideal as set forward by their master. Therefore, when all those numerous lay-disciples leading a “life of the five pleasures” approached the Buddha and embraced from the depths of their hearts Refuge Formula, there must have been in them what we now call repentance or *kshama*. Buddhism is thus the religion of repentance.

## V

The reason for my regarding repentance as an expression of faith as awakened in the heart of the lay-disciples leading a life of pleasures, is not drawn from the single and exceptional instance of the patricide king, Ajatāsattu. My point is that the feeling of repentance essentially constitutes faith, and this is seen in the Buddhist ideal of giving, giving one's self for others, that is, to benefit others by tearing oneself away from ego-centered attachments. When the Buddha was still young, he saw a farmer turning up a worm by the tip of his spade, and this worm was carried away at once by a bird. The Buddha's vision of peace was rudely shaken, and it is

said that he meditated for some time under a nearby tree on this state of mutual destruction of life. His merciful heart was stirred to its depths. How could this devouring of mutual lives be stopped? There were two ways of bringing about a state of universal peace: one was to conquer all the world by force and make all the nations observe conditions of reciprocal help; while the other was to perfect oneself spiritually and with this spiritual power to control the whole world. It is evident that the Buddha chose the second method. To make people live peacefully together it is necessary first to live peacefully with oneself. As long as one's own heart is divided against itself, there will be no hope for others to stop quarrelling among themselves. Finally, this Buddha found that the key to universal peace or the destruction of egotism could be achieved through enlightenment and love. Enlightenment will dispel the darkness of ignorance which is at the root of all evils, and love will put in practice what one has thus gained through enlightenment, that is, it teaches how to sacrifice oneself for the welfare of all sentient beings.

The Jātaka Tales are full of stories of self-sacrifice practised by the Buddha in his former lives. While yet a Bodhisattva he is said to have given himself to a tigress trying to eat her own offspring.<sup>1</sup> When he was the king of the Sibis, he gave his eyes away to an eagle.<sup>2</sup> As the lord of the deer, he gave his whole body to save a pregnant doe.<sup>3</sup> All such stories prove to show that the Buddha was conceived as love incarnate and was always for the cause of truth, peace, and humility. In fact such love was what was realised by the Buddha in the enlightenment attained under the

<sup>1</sup> See "The Story of the Tigress" in "*Jātakamāla*," p. 2; *Suvarṇaprabhā-sūtra* (Chinese translation, Chapter XXVI.).

<sup>2</sup> See "The Story of the King of the Sibis" in *Jātakamāla*, p. 8; *The Pali Jātaka*, by Fausbøll pp. IV, 401-412, (No. 499);

<sup>3</sup> See "*The Pali Jātaka*," (No. 12). I 36-42; *Mahāvastu*, I, 361-366.

Bodhi-tree, and at least a partial realisation of such love is what Buddhists ask of all sentient beings to attain for the sake of peace and humanity.

For the lay-disciples enjoying a life of pleasures, it is quite hard to follow the steps of the Buddha. While they are in the world, they may have to compete with other fellow-beings, they may conceive such an idea without realising what it actually means. The same thing can be said of the other moral rules set down by the Buddha for the observance of his lay-disciples. They have not yet freed themselves, for instance, from avarice, anger, and infatuation, as their brethren in the Sangha. From the highly idealistic point of view, to violate the precept against stealing, and to hate others is to hurt and murder them. While these may remain merely subjective and do not issue in conduct, they are, just the same, manifestations of impure feelings. What we commit with mouth or body is comparatively guiltless, what goes on in our inner soul is far more important and deciding from the religious point of view. When the lay-disciples grow conscious of this fact through the light they have obtained from their faith in the Buddha, there will inevitably rise in them a feeling of shame and humility. Is not their way of living far from the ideal they have set for themselves? Does not the Buddha appear to them so far above their reach? Do they not hear so much of the life of austerity and sanctity led by many of the Bhikshus and Bhikshunis? All these practical examples within their knowledge are sure to make them reflect within themselves. Instead of communicating to their fellow-devotees, as the Bhikshus do in the Brotherhood, their faults, or their particular instances of non-observance of the precepts, they will awaken in themselves a deeper religious feeling which will elevate their hearts more and more towards the Buddha. In other words, their consciousness of sin will ever lead them up from darkness to light and joy. The prog-

ress will be a never-ending one inasmuch as the love of the Buddha knows no bounds. This is where the faith of the lay-disciples religiously differs from that of the Brethren, the homeless ones.

## VI

Having followed thus far the path of faith pursued by the lay-disciples or householders leading a life of pleasure, I am almost surprised to find myself explaining the faith as embraced by the devotees of the Shin Sect. They are the waves of one and the same ocean. The saviour of the *Sukhāvativyūha-Sūtra* was originally a Bodhisattva known as Dharmakara who had disciplined himself throughout a long kalpa of time in love and patience and humility. He walked the same road as the Buddha in the *Jātaka Tales*, he is of the same personality as the Buddha as Saviour. He was the object of faith for Shinran. He is not a being who created the world and will send sinners into the everlasting fire; but it is he who will not attain to the supreme enlightenment unless all beings are finally saved from evil ways. We often imagine that the ancient lay-disciples, worldly followers of Buddhism, took refuge in the Buddha as a mortal being, but in fact their object of faith was not the corporeal Buddha who entered Nirvana at the age of eighty, he was the Dharmakāya\* serenely abiding outside the reach of death. If otherwise, the faith of the householders would have been merely an affair of

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\* In the *Ekottara-Āgama* (Chinese translation, Chapter XXVIII), we have the following: When the Buddha descended from the heavens to Sankassa, his followers and lay-disciples came out to greet him. The Venerable Subhūti, however, was mending his robe at Mount Gridhrakūta and was not among the welcoming crowd. He thought, "What is the true form of the Buddha? Is that his eye, his ear, etc? Is that the four elements making up his body? All these things are empty. I therefore take refuge in the reality of the Dharma." When the Buddha saw Bhikṣhunī Rengé in the form of chakravartī who was the first person to meet him, he said, I have already been greeted by Subhūti."

short duration and would not have had such a force as to revolutionise their whole system of thought. That the Dharma is an eternal truth we need not make special reference. Even the Sangha could not be a passing event, because it bespeaks an eternally harmonious order of the world. The Three Treasures thus stand in the eyes of the Buddhists as symbolisation of values, or are three aspects of one faith. And this faith obtained in our everyday life by the turning of thought even for a moment from its old worn-out groove of egoism expresses itself as reverence, humility, and repentance.

It goes without saying that Shinran bases his teaching on the Sukhāvati-Vyūha-Sūtra in emphasising Amida's Original Vows of salvation, but he is not always hampered by the scriptural authority, he goes right into the gist of the matter by declaring that "To take refuge in Amida is His solemn command to come to Him through His original vows." That is, one's taking refuge in the Triratna is the Buddha's voice itself demanding us to come. We are here in a mystical, transcendental world and not in our everyday logical world. In this transcendental world there is no dualism of subject and object but their absolute unity. When the calling voice of the Buddha is heard in one's heart, it is the time he takes refuge in the Triratna; and his heart is the heart of the Buddha. As this experience comes up from the depths of our consciousness where is no distinction of ego and non-ego, we feel as if it came from nowhere, that is, from somewhat not ourselves. In this sense faith is something given us by another.

When I referred to the lay-disciples's faith in the Buddha, I stated that it consisted in repentance. The same can be said of Shinran's faith; read the following from his Psalms:

"Though I seek my refuge in the true faith of the Pure Land,  
Yet hath not mine heart been truly sincere.  
Deceit and untruth are in my flesh,  
And in my soul is no clear shining." (327)

"Too strong for me is the evil of my heart.  
I can not overcome it.  
Therefore is my soul like unto the poison of serpents,  
Even my righteous deeds, being mingled with this poison, must be  
named the deeds of deceitfulness." (329)

"Shameless though I be and having no truth in my soul,  
Yet the virtue of the Holy Name, the gift of Him that is enlightened,  
Is spread throughout the world through my words being as I am." (330)

Words of such devotion can be found everywhere in his writings. He had a feeling of the utmost humiliation, and yet at the same time his heart was one with the Buddha-heart, it participated in the spiritual experience of the Buddha when his eye of enlightenment was opened. Shinran was firmly convinced in his belief that those who have faith once awakened in the Buddha would never retrogress into the evil ways but would ultimately obtain enlightenment. And this was what the Buddha himself assured the lay-disciples who had once taken refuge in the Three Treasures; for they had realised the first fruit of enlightenment and would never get into the evil paths. However agitated and troubled their superficial mind may appear to them, their inmost consciousness where faith is firmly embedded will know of no disturbance.

The teaching of Shinran has been hitherto considered so distinctly separated from primitive Buddhism, historically as well as dogmatically; it has often been pointed out that there was no documentary and psychological continuation of development between the Shin literature and the Āgamas. But as we have so far seen in the inner and psychological analysis of the faith as embraced by the lay-disciples in the Three Treasures, all these imaginary gaps are filled up; there is an unbroken continuation and development of the religious attitude which was once assumed by the primitive Buddhists. It is true that the form in which this religious attitude is express-

ed, for instance, in the *Sukhāvati vyūha*, differed widely from the earlier writings, but there is no doubt that in this the religious minds have depicted in an unmistakable manner the evangelical aspect of the Buddha's spiritual experience. The experience itself goes far deeper and permits no literary interpretation, but as we trace its effects to express itself in adequate words, we find many ardent spirits struggling to bring out the inner meaning of the Buddha-heart. Shinran was truly the culmination of all these effects and struggles, in which the real Buddha was boldly delineated. That such a long period had to expire before this consummation by Shinran, was partly due to the predominance of an intellectual interpretation of the Buddha's personality. When the Buddha is more humanly understood, the inner relationship between the Buddha and Shinran will grow more apparent.\*

SHUGAKU YAMABE

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\* I wish to acknowledge here my deep indebtedness to Professor Chizen Akanuma who kindly supplied me with the material from the Pali Buddhist texts.



IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES: III. HIGASHI  
HONGWANJI. AND THE FUNERAL  
CEREMONY OF THE LATE LORD  
ABBOT OF HIGASHI  
HONGWANJI

AS is well known to students of Japanese Buddhism, Shinran Shōnin was the founder of the Shin (True) sect. After his death the sect under various leaders divided itself into different sections, and gradually the Hongwanji became the largest and most prominent. The abbots of the Hongwanji trace their descent back directly to Shinran Shōnin, and this fact has always been of great influence among the followers of the Shin sect. The Hongwanji itself split into two divisions in 1594 when the abbot Kyonyo Shōnin retired in favour of his brother Junnyo and made his own residence at a new temple, the site of which was presented to him by Tokugawa Iyeyasu. This new temple became known as the Eastern Hongwanji, later called the Otani Branch from the family name of the presiding abbot. The two Hongwanji branches teach exactly the same belief, their religious tenets are the same. Historical reasons make the basis of their separation and has nothing to do with religious faith.

Since the building of the Higashi Hongwanji, it has had to meet with several devastating fires when the temple was entirely destroyed. The splendid structure now standing was built in 1895 at an immense cost and is one of the largest and finest temple buildings in Japan.

The temple is approached through wonderful gates, the central one, two-storied, supported by great pillars of *keyaki* wood and the superstructure richly carved. Sheltered in the second story of this great gate is a statue of Shakyamuni the

Buddha, with Ananda, his faithful disciple on the one side, and Mahākāshyapa on the other. Another gate, the Chokushimon, is reserved for Imperial use only. It is brilliant and beautiful and bears a great sixteen-petalled chrysanthemum, the Imperial crest. At the time of the visit of the Prince of Wales, this gate was thrown open, and the Prince's automobile swept through it when it bore the Prince to make his visit to this temple. There is still another gate opening to the Amida hall, covered with rich ornamentation.

In the enclosure within the gates, many doves are flying, having their nests in apertures of the gates. The main temple itself dedicated to Shinran Shōnin is of colossal proportions, outside richly decorated. The inside however is remarkably simple and perhaps gains its very grandeur by its great size and its simplicity. There are nine hundred and twenty-seven mats in this large temple room which is 27 by 66 feet, and the roof is supported by sixteen enormous *keyaki* wood pillars. The panels above and before the altar section are finely carved with portrayals of Buddhist symbology, angels, and phoenixes. The altar contains a statue of Shinran Shōnin said to have been carved by himself.

The last time I visited this beautiful temple apartment was one week before the funeral of the late abbot, Count Otani. A ceremony in honour of the dead abbot was taking place, presided over by his son, the present abbot of the Eastern Hongwanji. There was something very impressive and solemn in this sutra reading. Before the altar rails were many devotees listening devoutly. It was on this day that they had paid their last respects to the departed abbot, when his coffin under a white robe was placed to public view.

Adjoining the main hall is the Amida hall devoted to the worship of Amida Buddha. There are also smaller altars erected to the honour of Prince Shōtoku, the Im-

perial patron of Buddhism, to Hōnen Shōnin, the teacher of Shinran Shōnin, and to the eight patriarchs of the sect.

I cannot complete this brief description of the temple buildings without referring to the hair ropes. These are enormous ropes, each one two hundred and twenty-eight feet long, thirteen inches around, and weighing one hundred *kw.m.* They are made of human hair, given by women devotees who gladly cut off their black tresses to donate them to the temple. Fifty-two such ropes are preserved in the temple, some of them being exposed to public view in the corridor. These ropes were used to hoist the enormous *keyaki* beams, which being so heavy could not be lifted up with any other kinds of ropes. Of these hair ropes Lafcadio Hearn has written; "What faith can do in the way of such sacrifice he best knows who has seen the great cables, woven of women's hair that hang in the vast Hongwanji at Kyoto."

The water of the fountain in the precinct of the temple comes from Lake Biwa. A mechanism of extinguishing fire has been contrived when the water rises one hundred and thirty-eight feet and iron pipes running over the roofs can discharge water enough to put out any fire. On occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales in April, 1922, this mechanism was set off, and it was an interesting sight to see the play and spray of the waters upon the great roofs.

The present abbot is Reverend Count Koyen Otani. Although his father, formerly abbot, died only early in February, he had previously retired some years ago, leaving his son Rev. Koyen to take the place of abbot. The present abbot is not only the head of a great church, but he is a poet of distinction, composing poems in what is called the *haiku* style. A few examples of his poems are here given. But it must be mentioned that Japanese poetry loses much of its poetic beauty in translation and only a slight idea can

be given of the brilliancy and dainty charm of these *haiku*-poems in miniature. The *haiku* is composed of seventeen syllables, the shortest poetic expression ever contrived by any people, and naturally much is left to the imagination of the reader who must be acquainted more or less thoroughly with the circumstances that inspired the poet.

Where the temple bell rings,  
The villagers are joyous  
With a joy of the Law,  
Even in their field labours.

Opening his mouth wide,  
How absorbed he looks  
At the flowers wind-blown!  
A Buddha this village lad.

The holy sutra,  
Mother's old letters,  
I read,  
This year-end.

How longingly I feel  
For the ancient city!  
The willows are growing green.

Quiet mountains in summer,  
All around nothing but mountains;  
A lone bird  
Singing just once!

Serene shines the moon tonight!  
How small, human beings,  
We of this earth!

Rather than the stately temple,  
A hut, straw-thatched,  
This autumnal eve!

On February the eighth died Reverend Count Koyei Otani, formerly abbot of the Higashi Hongwanji, and on

February the twenty-second his funeral took place at the temple. The funeral ceremony was most impressive and interesting. With many others I went very early in the morning to the grounds of the main temple. Gradually there assembled a large number of priests and laymen with temple rank, students of the Buddhist University and others having some relationship to the temple. All these gathered in groups before the main portal. After a time, the shrine containing the coffin of the dead abbot was brought down; previously many ceremonies had taken place, but now the abbot as well as others of high priestly rank did obeisance before the coffin for the last time. They did this by placing a broad white sash signifying a carrying rope around the neck and then replacing it with a bow,—this being a symbol of the idea of actually carrying the coffin by a strap upon the shoulders. Having taken this farewell, everyone formed into a procession to march to the funeral ground.

First came students and teachers of Otani University, and then a long line of laymen in ancient court dress (showing that they held some official temple rank). The dress brought us back to the olden days of Japan, some wearing bright-coloured over-dresses and some in white with odd-shaped black caps. Then came many priests in their ceremonious robes, and some of them were very brilliant indeed. Gradations in rank are distinguished by colours, purple being the highest. Past us went priests in red and violet, blue and green, swaying graceful silken robes hanging over full pantaloons resembling those of Turkish gentlemen. Rosaries of all kinds, some of simple wood and some of crystals and amber were held in their hand. After the long line of priests had passed, came a company of soldiers, especially sent to represent the government, a most unusual proceeding to honour a Buddhist priest. At the end of the procession immediately following the coffin shrine which was

borne by many men in white costumes, came the mourners of the abbot's family: first the present abbot, Rev. Koyen Otani, clad in a grey garment, his feet encased in peculiar grass shoes. Beside him walked men holding a large red umbrella to shield him from the sun. Behind the abbot walked his son some day abbot to be, now a slender young college man, and after him came the other sons and nephews of the dead priest. At the end of this group walked many laymen. Along the route of procession as it passed through the streets were crowds of people, most of them devoted Buddhists, clasping their rosaries in their hands, and murmuring *Namu-amida-butsu*.

The procession moved slowly and solemnly through the streets until it reached the specially prepared funeral ground where a funeral pavillion and altar had been arranged. This altar was of great interest, for here offerings had been made of all things representing the different products from land and sea. There also stood some artificial flowers symbolising the sala trees under which the Buddha died so many centuries ago.

The pavillion was a beautiful white building,—white you know and not black being the colour for mourning among the Japanese. The structure really was a crematory where the dead abbot's earthly remains were to be committed to fire, now merely symbolising the fact.

After the procession had arrived at the funeral grounds, there was an interval of some time for rest, but at one o'clock those gathered for the final ceremony took their places either standing or sitting. Then guests of high rank were escorted to their places, abbots and high priests of other sects, representatives of the Imperial family and many others of high official or ecclesiastical rank.

The abbot and his son sat in a canopied pavillion near the altar. At last began the final services, the doors of the

pavillion containing the coffin were opened, the voices of many priests chanted the "Shoshinge" composed by Shinran, and as it drew to a close, the representatives of the Imperial family one by one went to the altar to offer incense and bow their respects to the spirit of the dead. Then the abbot himself did the same. Each one who came to the altar to offer incense did so in a most solemn and stately manner, and I could not help thinking that I was looking at some picture of the past, that I had gone back many years and was in Kyoto of the long-ago. It was indeed a beautiful and interesting sight, this last paying of respect to a great priest of the Buddhist church, abbot of the Higashi Hongwanji.

SEIREN (BLUE LOTUS)

## THE SHINRAN REVIVAL OF THE LAST YEAR

IT was quite a remarkable phenomenon in the recent Japanese history of culture that the teaching of Shinran and his personality attracted so much attention and were made the subjects of earnest study in various fields of thought during the course of the past year. We have had many religious movements in the past, but from a purely spiritual point of view they were not of much significance. The sudden rising a few years ago of the Ōmoto-kyo was not to be regarded as strictly religious; the popularity of the Nichiren which lasted for some time was more of a patriotic and militaristic nature, there was not much of purely religious interest. On the contrary, the so-called Shinran movement which swept over the cultured people of Japan during the past year, was truly a manifestation of the spiritual yearnings of the modern man. Trained in science and deeply interested in the utilitarian side of modern life, he was not much inclined to take such a religion as Shinran's seriously. But there was something in him after all which could not fully be satisfied with things of the moment. Especially, when that unexpected prosperity which followed in the wake of the war among certain classes of people had run its natural course, there was a feeling of vacancy left in their hearts. How to fill it was a great problem, and finally they found the way to save themselves in Shinran's religion as the most rational thing they could do in modern conditions.

The Japanese minds during the war may be considered to have run into two channels. The one was individualistic and sensual which expressed itself in decadent literature and centred around sex. The other was social and humanistic, and its motto was freedom, emancipation, equality, reconstruc-



tion, and democracy. But as these movements are of a temporary nature as the products of an extraordinary event and have their reason of existence in an economic disintegration, they cease to claim one's attention when the financial pendulum swings back. A period of depression soon followed the heels of elation and prosperity. They could not but be impressed strongly with the impermanency of human affairs. In haste they now embraced religion hitherto so completely ignored. The Buddha's warning, "All things are impermanent, they are subject to birth and death," was at last heard by them. But it was not yet theirs to negative the claims of life. Even when they were complaining of the transitoriness of things, they were still strongly attached to the world. Not only the after-taste of material pleasure tenaciously clung to them, they had scientifically trained minds, which, though irrationally, kept them away from things spiritual. They thought, Shinran's teaching would be the very thing they would want.

What did they see in Shinran's teaching? It did not advocate celibacy, it did not request them to be homeless. They showed great sympathy to Shinran's utterance, "While my body sinks ever deeper into the turbulent waters of passion and desire and gets confused in the mountain paths of gain and fame, my inmost mind enjoys the perfect happiness of the Pure Land." They also found their hearts voiced in his democratic statement that "I have none to be called my disciples, we are all friends and brothers before the Buddha." His further expression of love was, "When you are alone and feel happy, think there is another person with you who feels your happiness. When two of you feel happy, think there is a third person with you. One of them is always myself." How they fell in with such expressions as these!

There was some reason for their thus acclaiming the sayings of Shinran; for Shinran himself was the product

some seven hundred years ago of an historical atmosphere similar to that of the present era, as regards these two tendencies already referred to. Whether they properly understood or not the true spirit of the religion of Shinran, they hastened to embrace it according to their light.

The most prominent figures of recent years in the propagation of Shinran's teaching were Manshi Kiyozawa and Kōjun Shichiri; both are dead now. Of their followers the most active and representative ones, still living, are Gessho Sasaki, Bin Akegarasu, Ryoshin Soga, Kanaye Tada, Taiye Kaneko, Chizen Akanuma, Shugaku Yamabe, Shinryu Umehara, Jokwan Chikazumi, and others. Priests belonging to the Shin sect whose number exceeds 30,000 no doubt did their parts in promoting the general interest in their founder, Shinran; nor were the Eastern and the Western Hongwanji backward in doing their shares as the largest and most influential organisation of the Shin sect.

But what I wish to describe here is not the work of the professional followers of the Shin sect, so to speak, but that of those who are outside the official circles of the Shin; for it was mostly due to these people that we saw that unusual phenomenon of the Shinran revival during the the past year.

In this revival movement two tendencies are noticeable: the one is the popularisation of Shinran by means of belle lettres, and the other is the propagation of the Shinran faith which has more directly to do with his religion proper. To illustrate. Of the first aspect of the revival we must first of all mention Hyakuzo Kurata's *Priest and His Disciples*, which was published as a drama some years ago. It was very well received then, but it was not until last year that the work and its dramatisation were acclaimed with outburst of enthusiasm. The next popular literary productions on Shinran were Baigwai Ishimaru's drama, *Human Shinran*, and a novel, *Shinran in Passion*. After these, dramas and novels relating

to Shinran's life and teaching followed rapidly from the pens of such writers as Ken-ichi Kaharu, Minetaro Yamanaka, Kataya Yebara, Doryu Kayaba, Kwanzo Miura, Namiroku, and others.

I have no time to review these works except making a few remarks about the mood of the times as was reflected in these literary products. First of all their treatment of this historical figure was bold and free, that is, they were not sticklers to the facts of his life, even historically worthless materials were unhesitatingly utilised, sometimes they were manufactured by the poets. But on the other hand there is not much of authenticity in all the biographical records we have of Shinran, which naturally helped emboldening those men of letters.

As to the delineation of Shinran's character, they have not entered into the depths of his religious consciousness, but more or less superficially they seem to be trying to depict his human side which made him break away from monastic ideals. These modern writers seem to forget what a deep insight Shinran had into human nature and what an ardent seeker of the truth of life he was. The one thing they have significantly failed to understand was Shinran's attitude towards prayer, which with most people is expressive of material and ego-centred desires. He was strongly against this, but our modern narrators of his life have ignored or not at all understood it.

These misunderstandings or the failures to rightly interpret the *motif* of Shinran's inner life vexed the orthodox followers of his teaching. A critical review of *The Priest and His Disciples* as to its religious value was published by Professor Junjiro Takakusu; a heated controversy was raised between the author of *Humam Shinran* and Rev. Shuntai Ishikawa; and lastly the Acting Abbot of the Western Hongwanji, Rev. Sonyu Otani, himself came to the front to criticise the general

tendency of irreligion shown in those literary works. This was quite an unusual thing as was noticed by the editor of this magazine in the last issue in the orthodox circles of the Shin sect, which were hampered in many ways by tradition and rigid formalism.

Among the popular movements based on faith, we have to mention two outstanding figures, Shūichi Noyori and Minetaro Yamanaka. Noyori is the editor and proprietor of a magazine called *The Business World* (實業の世界). He was sent to prison twice owing to his not strictly legal methods of attacking some prominent men of business. While he was spending for a second time a hard, lonely, and monotonous life in jail, his mind turned to religion, which he had not hitherto given much thought. He was converted into the Shin sect. As he was strongly inclined towards a worldly life which was to him all in all before he was forced to reflect soberly on it, the reaction was also strong. When he was released from confinement after four years' forced meditation on the value of life, he turned into one of the most ardent and energetic propagandists of the faith through which his dark soul was saved. The more he thought of his past life, the darker it grew to him, and the feeling of shame and gratitude was intensified all the more for the love of Amida who will not reject even such a sinner as he. His magazine which had been carried on by his staff while he was in prison was now taken up by himself who gave to it a strong missionary colouring. Not satisfied with it, he has undertaken the publication of two more magazines exclusively devoted to the propagation of the Shin faith: the one goes under the name of *The World of the Shin Sect* and the other *The Women of the Shin Sect*. In these he has no monetary considerations and frequently issues extra editions composed of authoritative articles from the pens of scholars, public men, and orthodox Shin followers. He also makes extensive missionary tours all

over Japan. He is the chief director of the Society for Propagating the Shin Sect which was organised by himself for the purpose. His activities are remarkable.

Of Minetaro Yamanaka, a similar story of conversion is told. He saw once also the inside of a penitentiary, where faith in Amida was kindled in him. As he has no means to support his ideas like the former who is apparently well supplied with funds, his activities are not so brilliant. But his faith is just as strong as Noyori's, perhaps even stronger. His views are occasionally published in the periodicals, he has also a few books devoted to the subject of his conversion, one of which is a drama on Shinran.

There are also other noted writers who have published sympathetic views on Shinran: Kōshi Mitsui writes on "Shinran as the Japanese who realised the historical life of the people"; Yu Fujikawa on "Shinran as the only religious leader who can maintain his spiritual dignity before science"; and Tenko Nishida on "Shinran as a man who truly realised in himself absolute and universal love." All these three writers have their own magazines to promulgate their respective views of Shinran, and they are some of the most noteworthy periodical literature published in Japan on the Shin sect teaching, the number of such monthlies amounting to over sixty.

The above is a rough survey of what may be designated as the Shinran revival in the past year, and what was remarkable about this was that it had no connection with the orthodox and ecclesiastical circles of the Sect, but that it was essentially popular and non-professional if we could call it so. Formerly, religious subjects were almost deliberately excluded from general literature, and a few years ago nobody would ever have imagined such subjects as Shinran could awaken a general interest among the self-styled educated classes. Strange indeed it was to see all these dramas,

novels, or essays as were mentioned before attracting readers, some of them, it is said, went through over one hundred editions. Such facts all indicate the direction where the popular mind is now mainly tending.

Besides purely literary works on Shinran, we have also had plays and moving pictures of Shinran's life. Various editions, both scholarly and popular, of Shinran's complete works are being published by different firms.

When this magazine is out a commemorating festival will be going on of the seven hundredth anniversary of the publication of *The Doctrine, Practise, Faith, and Attainment*, which is Shinran's chief work and explains the philosophical foundation of the Shin sect. The ten branches of the Sect are united to celebrate the occasion on a grand scale. This is perhaps a most desirable opportunity for the younger generation to rise and carry out a sweeping reformation not only in the intellectual and moral interpretation of the Shin principles, but in the institution itself whose essential reason of existence is based on feudalistic tradition. If this could be accomplished, the unexpected rising of the Shinran enthusiasm during the course of the last year may be of some signification.

KOGETSU MINO

## NOTE

The frontispiece to the present number of *The Eastern Buddhist* is reproduced from the oldest portrait of Shinran Shōnin in possession of the Western Hongwanji. The painter's name is Sen-amida-butsu, who was son of Lord Nobuzane Fujiwara noted for his artistic talents. The painter was a younger contemporary of the Shōnin and drew this portrait after Shinran's death. It is known as "Mirror Portrait," meaning it is a true reflection of the original person. The inscription which appears over the portrait is the handwriting of Kakunyo Shōnin, the third abbot of Hongwanji, and the compiler of *The Life of Shinran Shōnin*, an English translation of which is published in this issue of *The Eastern Buddhist*. The passage is taken from the *Shōshinge*, "Psalm of the Orthodox Faith," by Shinran. It reads :

"When you think of the Original Vows of Amida Buddha,  
Naturally and instantly, you enter into the confirmation :  
Only let the Tathagata's name be invoked all the time,  
For this is the way to requite his great love and all-saving vows."

# THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

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Contributions, notes, news, and business correspondence should be addressed to the Editors, Library, Otani University, Muromachi-Kashira, Kyoto, Japan.



MAÑJUŚRĪ asked, "My friend, whence is your illness? Long you have been unwell. How should you be cured?"

VIMALAKĪRTI replied: "Because of ignorance there is desire, and thence comes my illness. Because all beings are ill, I am ill. When their illness disappears, my illness will also disappear. Why? It was for the sake of all beings that the Bodhisattva has long been on the path of birth and death, and since he has thus suffered himself to be there, he shows illness. When beings are rid of their illness, the Bodhisattva will also rid of his illness. He is like unto the parents of an only child in a good family. When the child is sick, its parents are sick; when it is recovered, they are also recovered. So with the Bodhisattva: he loves all beings as an only child; when they are ill he is ill, and when they are well he is also well.... His illness is caused by his great loving heart."

—THE VIMALAKĪRTI-NIRDEŚA.





# THE EASTERN BUDDHIST

## ZEN AS CHINESE INTERPRETATION OF THE DOCTRINE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

### BUDDHISM AS UNDERSTOOD BY ZEN

**B**EFORE I proceed to the discussion of the main idea of this essay, it may not be out of place to make some preliminary remarks concerning the attitude of some Zen critics and thereby to define the position of Zen in the general body of Buddhism. They allege that Zen Buddhism is not Buddhism, it is something foreign to the spirit of Buddhism, and that it is one of those aberrations which we often see growing up in the history of any religion. Zen is thus, according to them, an abnormality prevailing among the people whose thought and feeling flow along a channel different from the main current of Buddhist thought. Whether this allegation is true or not, will be decided, on the one hand, when we understand what is really the essence or genuine spirit of Buddhism, and, on the other, when we know the exact status of Zen doctrine in regard to the ruling ideas of Buddhism as they are accepted in the Far East. It may also be desirable to know something about the development of religious experience in general. We cannot dogmatically assert that Zen is not Buddhism just because it looks so different on its surface from what some people with a certain set of preconceived notions consider Buddhism to be. The statement of my position as regards these points will prepare the way to the development of the principal thesis.

Superficially there is something in Zen so staggering, so bizarre, and so uncouth, as to frighten the pious literary followers of the so-called primitive Buddhism. What, for instance, would they really make out of such statements as follow: In *The Sayings of Nansen* (南泉語錄) we read that, "When T'sui (崔), governor of Ch'i District (池洲), asked the Fifth Patriarch of the Zen sect how it was that while he had five hundred followers, Hui-nêng (慧能), in preference to all others, was singled out to be given the orthodox robe of transmission as the Sixth Patriarch, replied the Fifth Patriarch: 'Four hundred and ninety-nine out of my disciples understand well what Buddhism is, except Hui-nêng. He is a man not to be measured by an ordinary standard. Hence the robe of faith was handed over to him.' On this comments Nansen: 'In the age of Void there are no words whatever; as soon as the Buddha appears on earth, words come into existence, hence our clinging to signs... And thus as we now so firmly take hold of words, we limit ourselves in various ways. In the Great Way there are absolutely no such limitations as ignorance and holiness. Everything that has a name thereby limits itself. Therefore, the old master of Chiang-hsi (江西) declared that "it is neither mind, nor Buddha, nor a thing." It was in this way that he wished to guide his followers, while these days they vainly endeavour to experience the Great Way by hypostatizing such an entity as mind. If the Way could be mastered in this manner, it would be well for them to wait until the appearance of Maitreya Buddha [which is said to be at the end of the world] and then to awaken the thought of Enlightenment. How could such ones ever hope for spiritual freedom? Under the Fifth Patriarch, all of his five hundred disciples, except Hui-nêng, understood Buddhism well. The lay-disciple, Nêng, was quite unique in this respect, for he did not at all understand Buddhism. He understood the Way only and no other thing.'"

These are not very extraordinary statements in Zen, but to most of the Zen critics they must spell abomination. Buddhism is flatly denied, and its knowledge is regarded not to be indispensable to the mastery of Zen, the Great Way, which on the contrary is more or less identified with the negation of Buddhism. How is this?

To answer the question, the life and spirit of Buddhism must be stripped of all its outer casings and appendages which hide its original, genuine form. The acorn is so different from the oak, but as long as there is a continuation of growth, their identity is a logical conclusion. To see really into the nature of the acorn is to trace an uninterrupted development through its various historical stages. As long as the seed remains a seed and means nothing more, there is no life in it, it is a finished piece of work and except as an object of historical curiosity, it has no value whatever in our religious experience. In like manner, to determine the nature of Buddhism we must go along its whole line of development and see what are the healthiest and most vital germs in it which have brought it to the present state of maturity. When this is done, we shall see in what manner Zen is to be recognised as one of the various phases of Buddhism and in fact as the most essential factor in it.

To comprehend fully the constitution of any existent religion that has a long history, it is advisable to separate its founder from his teaching, as a determinant factor in the course of its development. By this I mean, in the first place, that the founder so called had in the beginning no idea of being the founder of any religious system which would later grow up in his name; in the second that to his disciples, while he was yet alive, his personality was not regarded as independent of his teaching, at least as far as they were conscious of the fact; in the third that what was unconsciously working in their minds as regards the nature of their master's



personality came out in the foreground after his passing with all the possible intensity that had been latently gaining strength within them; and lastly that the personality of the founder grew up in his disciples' minds so powerful as to make itself the very nucleus of his teaching, that is to say, the latter was made to serve as explanation of the meaning of the former. It is therefore a great mistake to think that any existent religious system was handed down to posterity by its founder as the fully matured product of his mind, and therefore that what the followers had to do with their religious founder and his teaching was to embrace both the founder and his teaching as sacred heritage—a treasure not to be profaned by the content of their individual spiritual experience. For this view fails to take into consideration what our spiritual life is and petrifies religion to its very core. This static conservatism, however, is always opposed by a progressive party which looks at a religious system from a dynamic point of view. And these two forces which are seen conflicting against each other in every field of human activity, weave out the history of religion as in other cases. In fact, history is the record of these struggles everywhere. But the very fact that there are such struggles in religion shows that they are here to some purpose and that religion is a living force; for they gradually bring to light the hidden implications of the original faith and enrich it in a manner undreamed of in the beginning. This takes place most illogically not only with regard to the personality of the founder but with regard to his teaching, and the result is an astounding complexity or rather confusion which sometimes prevents us from properly seeing into the constitution of a living religious system.

While the founder was still walking among his followers and disciples, the latter did not distinguish between the person of their leader and his teaching; for the teaching was realised

in the person and the person was livingly explained in the teaching. To embrace the teaching was to follow his steps, that is, to believe in him. His presence among them was enough to inspire them and convince them of the truth of his teaching. They might not have comprehended it thoroughly, but his authoritative way of presenting it left in their hearts no shadow of doubt as to its truth and eternal value. So long as he lived among them and spoke to them, his teaching and his person appealed to them as an individual unity. Even when they retired into a solitary place and meditated on the truth of his teaching, the image of his person was always before his mental eye.

But things went differently when his stately and inspiring personality was no more seen in the flesh. His teaching was still there, his followers could recite it perfectly from memory, but its personal connection with the author was lost, the living chain which solidly united him and his doctrine was for ever broken. When they reflected on the truth of the doctrine, they could not help thinking of their teacher as a soul far deeper and nobler than themselves. The similarities that were recognised as existing in various forms between leader and disciple gradually vanished, and as they vanished, the other side, that is, that which made him so distinctly different from his followers came to assert itself all the more emphatically and more irresistibly. The result was the conviction that he must have come from quite a unique spiritual source. The process of deification thus constantly went on until, some centuries after the death of the Master, he became a direct manifestation of the Supreme Being himself, in fact, he was the Highest One in the flesh, in him there was a divine humanity in perfect realisation. He was Son of God or the Buddha and the Redeemer of the world. He will then be considered by himself independently of his teaching; he will occupy the centre of interest in the eyes



of his followers. The teaching is of course important, but mainly as having come from the mouth of such an exalted spirit, and not necessarily as containing the truth of Enlightenment. Indeed, the teaching is to be interpreted in the light of the teacher's divine personality. The latter now predominates over the whole system, he is the centre whence radiate the rays of Enlightenment, salvation is only possible in believing in him as saviour.

Around this personality or this divine nature there will now grow various systems of philosophy essentially based on his own teaching, but more or less modified according to the spiritual experiences of the disciples. This would perhaps never have taken place if the personality of the founder were not such as to stir up the deep religious feelings in the hearts of his followers; which is to say, what most attracted the latter to the teaching was not primarily the teaching itself but that which gave life to it, and without which it would never have been what it was. We are not always convinced of the truth of a statement because it is so logically advanced, but mainly because there is an inspiring life-impulse running through it. We are first struck with it and later try to verify its truth. The understanding is needed, but this alone will never move us to risk the fate of our souls.

One of the greatest religious souls in Japan once confessed, "I do not care whether I go to hell or anywhere, but because my old master taught me to invoke the name of the Buddha, I practise the teaching." This is not a blind acceptance of the master, in whom there was something deeply appealing to one's soul, and the disciple embraced this something with his whole being. Mere logic never moves us; there must be something transcending the intellect. When Paul insisted that "if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins," he was not appealing to our logical idea of

things, but to our spiritual yearnings. It did not matter whether things existed as facts of chronological history or not, the vital concern of ours was the fulfilment of our inmost aspirations; even so-called objective facts could be so moulded as to yield the best result to the requirements of our spiritual life. The personality of the founder of any religious system that has survived through centuries of growth must have had all the qualities that fully meet such spiritual requirements. As soon as the person and his teaching are separated after his own passing in the religious consciousness of his followers, if he was sufficiently great, he will at once occupy the centre of their spiritual interest and all his teachings will be made to explain this fact in various ways.

To state it more concretely, how much of Christianity as we have it to-day is the teaching of Christ himself? and how much of it is the contribution of Paul, John, Peter, Augustine, and even Aristotle? The magnificent structure of Christian dogmatics is the work of Christian faith as has been experienced successively by its leaders, it is not the work of one person, even of Christ. For dogmatics is not necessarily always concerned with historical facts which are rather secondary in importance compared with the religious truth of Christianity: the latter is what ought to be rather than what is or what was. It aims at the establishment of what is universally valid, which is not to be jeopardised by the fact or non-fact of historical elements, as is maintained by some of the modern exponents of Christian dogmatics. Whether Christ really claimed to be the Messiah or not is a great historical discussion still unsettled among Christian theologians. Some say that it does not make any difference as far as Christian faith is concerned whether or not Christ claimed to be the Messiah. In spite of all such theological difficulties, Christ is the centre of Christianity. The Christian

edifice is built around the person of Jesus. Buddhists may accept some of his teachings and sympathise with the content of his religious experience, but so long as they do not cherish any faith in Jesus as "Christ" or Lord, they are not Christians. Christianity is therefore constituted not only with the teaching of Jesus himself but with all the dogmatical and speculative interpretations concerning the personality of Jesus and his doctrine that have accumulated ever since the death of the founder. In other words, Christ did not found the religious system known by his name, but he was made its founder by his followers. If he were still among them, it is highly improbable that he would sanction all the theories, beliefs, and practices, which are now imposed upon self-styled Christians. If he were asked whether their learned dogmatics were his religion, he might not know how to answer. He would in all likelihood profess complete ignorance of all the philosophical subtleties of Christian theology of the present day. But from the modern Christians' point of view they will most definitely assure us that their religion is to be referred to "a unitary starting point and to an original basic character," which is Jesus as Christ and that whatever manifold constructions and transformations that were experienced in the body of their religion did not interfere with their specific Christ-faith. They are Christians just as much as the brethren of their primitive community were; for there is an historical continuation of the same faith all along its growth and development which is its inner necessity. To regard the form of culture of a particular time as something sacred and to be transmitted for ever as such is to suppress our spiritual yearnings after eternal validity. This I believe is the position taken up by progressive modern Christians.

How about progressive modern Buddhists then in regard to their attitude towards Buddhist faith constituting the essence

of Buddhism? Let us first see what is Buddhism and how Buddhism came into existence in India.

It is not quite in accordance with the life and teaching of the Buddha to regard Buddhism as a system of religious doctrines and practices established by the Buddha himself; for it is more than that, and comprises, as its most important constituent elements, all the experiences and speculations of the Buddha's followers concerning the personality of their Master and his relations to his own doctrine. Buddhism did not come out of the Buddha's mind fully armed, as did Minerva from Jupiter. The theory of a perfect Buddhism from the beginning is the static view of it, and cuts it short from its continuous and never-ceasing growth. Our religious experience transcends the limitations of time, and its ever-expanding content requires a more vital form which will grow without doing violence to itself. Inasmuch as Buddhism is a living religion and not an historical mummy stuffed with dead and functionless materials, it must be able to absorb and assimilate all that is helpful to its growth. This is the most natural thing for any organism endowed with life. And this life may be traceable under divergent forms and constructions.

According to scholars of Pali Buddhism and of the Āgama literature, all that the Buddha taught seems to be summed up by the Fourfold Noble Truth, the Twelve Chains of Causation, the Eightfold Path of Righteous Living, and the doctrine of Non-ego and Nirvāṇa. If this was the case, what we call primitive Buddhism was quite a simple affair as long as our consideration was limited to its doctrinal aspect. There was nothing very promising in these doctrines that would eventually build up a magnificent structure to be known as Buddhism comprising both the Hinayana and the Mahayana. When we wish to understand Buddhism thoroughly, however,

we must dive deep into its bottom where lies its living spirit. Those that are satisfied with a superficial view of its dogmatical aspect are apt to let go the spirit which will truly explain the inner life of Buddhism. To some of the Buddha's immediate disciples the deeper things in his teaching failed to appeal, or they were not conscious of the real spiritual forces which moved them towards their Master. We must look underneath if we want to come in contact with the ever-growing life-impetus of Buddhism. However great the Buddha was, he could not convert a jackal into a lion, nor could a jackal comprehend the Buddha above his beastly nature. As the later Buddhists state, a Buddha alone understands another Buddha; when our subjective life is not raised to the same level as the Buddha's, many things that go to make up his inner life escape us; we cannot live in any other world than our own. Therefore, if the primitive Buddhists read so much into the life of their Master as is recorded in their writings, and no more, this does not prove that everything belonging to the Buddha has thereby been exhausted. There were probably other Buddhists who penetrated deeper into his life, as their own inner consciousness had a richer content. The history of religion thus becomes the history of our own spiritual unfolding. Buddhism must be conceived biologically, so to speak, and not mechanically. When we take this attitude, even the doctrine of the Fourfold Noble Truth becomes pregnant with yet deeper truths.

The Buddha was not a metaphysician and naturally avoided discussing such subjects as were strictly theoretical and had no practical bearing on the attainment of Nirvana. He might have had his own views on those philosophical problems that at the time engaged Indian minds. But like other religious leaders his chief interest was in the practical result of speculation and not in speculation as such. He was too busy in trying to get rid of the poisonous arrow that had

pierced the flesh, he had no desire to inquire into the history, object, and constitution of the arrow; for life was too short for that. He thus took the world as it was, that is, he interpreted it as it appeared to his religious insight and according to his own valuation. He did not intend to go any further. He called his way of looking at the world and life Dharma, a very comprehensive and flexible term, though it was not a term first used by the Buddha; for it had been in vogue some time prior to him mainly in the sense of ritual and law, but the Buddha gave it a deeper spiritual signification.

That the Buddha was practical and not metaphysical, may be seen from the criticism which was hurled at him by his opponents: "As Gautama is always found alone sitting in an empty room, he has lost his wisdom. . . . Even Śīriputra who is the wisest and best disciple of his is like a babe, so stupid and without eloquence." Here however lies the seed of a future development. If the Buddha were given up to theorising, his teaching could never be expected to grow. Speculation may be deep and subtle, but if it has no spiritual life in it, its possibilities are soon exhausted. The Dharma was ever maturing, because it was mysteriously creative.

The Buddha evidently had quite a pragmatic conception of the intellect and left many philosophical problems unsolved as unnecessary for the attainment of the final goal of life. This was quite natural with him. While he was still alive among his disciples, he was the living illustration of all that was implied in his doctrine. The Dharma was manifest in him in all its vital aspects, and there was no need to indulge in idle speculation as to the ultimate meaning of such concepts as Dharma, Nirvana, Ego, Karma, Enlightenment, etc. The Buddha's personality was the key to the solution of all these. The disciples were not fully aware of the significance of this fact. When they thought they understood the Dharma, they

did not know that this understanding was really taking refuge in the Buddha. His presence somehow had a pacifying and satisfying effect on whatever spiritual anguish they had; they felt as if they were securely embraced in the arms of a loving, consoling mother; to them the Buddha was really such. Therefore, they had no need to press the Buddha very hard to enlighten them on many of the philosophical problems that they might have grown conscious of. They were easily reconciled in this respect to the Buddha's unwillingness to take them into the heart of metaphysics. But at the same time this left much room for the later Buddhists to develop their own theories not only as to the teaching of the Buddha but as to its relation to his personality.

After the Buddha's entrance into Nirvāṇa, the disciples lost their World-Light through which they had such an illuminating view of things. The Dharma was there and in it they tried to see the Buddha as they were instructed by him, but it had no enlivening effect on them as before; the moral precepts consisting of many rules were regularly observed in the Brotherhood, but the authoritativeness of these regulations was missed somehow. They retired into a quietude and meditated on the teaching of the Master, but the meditation was not quite so life-giving and satisfying because they were ever assailed by doubts, and, as a natural consequence, their intellectual activities were resumed. Everything was now to be explained to the full extent of the reasoning faculty. The metaphysician began to assert himself against the simple-hearted devotion of the disciple. What was accepted as an authoritative injunction from the mouth of the Buddha, was to be examined as a subject of philosophical discussion. Two factions were ready to divide the field with each other, and radicalism was opposed to conservatism, and between the two wings there were arranged schools of various tendencies. The Sthaviras



were pitted against the Mahāsaṅghikas, with twenty or more different schools representing various grades of diversity.\*

We cannot, however, exclude from the body of Buddhism all the divergent views on the Buddha and his teaching as something foreign and not belonging to the constituent elements of Buddhism. For these views are exactly what support the frame of Buddhism, and without them the frame itself will be a non-entity altogether. The error with most critics of any existent religion with a long history of development is to conceive it as a completed system which is to be accepted as such, while the fact is that anything organic and spiritual—and we consider religion such—has no geometrical outline which can be traced on paper by ruler and compass. It refuses to be objectively defined, for this will be setting a limit to the growth of its spirit. Thus to know what Buddhism is will be to get into the life of Buddhism and to understand it from the inside as it unfolds itself objectively in history. Therefore, the definition of Buddhism must be that of the life-force which carries forward a spiritual movement called Buddhism. All these doctrines, controversies, constructions, and interpretations that were offered after the Buddha's death as regards his person, life, and teaching were what essentially constituted the life of Indian Buddhism, and without these there could be no spiritual activity to be known as Buddhism.

As I said above, there was, along with the development of Buddhist dogmatics, a strong desire among the Buddha's followers to speculate on the nature of his personality. They had no power to check the constant and insistent cry of this desire brimming in their inmost hearts. What moved them most in the whole life of the Buddha was his Enlightenment and Nirvāṇa and consequently his birth and its preceding

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\* For a more or less detailed account of the various Buddhist schools that came up within a few centuries after the Buddha, see Vasumitra's *Samayabhedo-paracana-cakra*, 異部宗輪論. Professor Suisai Funahashi recently published an excellent commentary on this book.



conditions. Enlightenment was the essence of Buddhahood, and when one understands it, one knows the whole secret of the Buddha's superhuman nature, and with it the riddle of life and the world. In his enlightened mind there must have been many things which the Buddha did not divulge to his disciples. When he refused to answer metaphysical questions, it was not because he did not solve them for himself, but because the minds of the questioners were not developed enough to comprehend the full implication of them. The disciples who had no living Master now were naturally quite anxious to solve the problems by themselves if they could. They were never tired to exhaust their intellectual ingenuity on them. Various theories were then advanced, and Buddhism ceased to be merely the teaching of the Buddha, for it came also to be a reflection of something eternally valid. It ceased to be a thing merely historical, but a system ever living, growing, and energy-imparting. Various Mahayana Sutras and Sastras were produced to develop various aspects of the content of Enlightenment as realised by the Buddha. Some of them were speculative, others mystical, and still others ethical and practical.

Next to the theory of Enlightenment, Nirvana as the ideal of Buddhist life engaged the serious attention of Buddhist philosophers. Was it an annihilation of existence, or that of passions and desires, or the dispelling of ignorance, or a state of egolessness? Did the Buddha really enter into a state of utter extinction leaving all sentient beings to their own fate? Did the love he showed to his followers vanish with his passing? Would he not come back among them in order to guide them, to enlighten them, to listen to their spiritual anguish? The value of such a grand personality as the Buddha could not perish with his physical existence, it ought to remain with us for ever as a thing of eternal validity. How could this nation be reconciled with the annihilation theory of Nirvana, so prevalent among the personal disciples of the Buddha?

When history conflicts with our idea of value, can it not be interpreted to the satisfaction of our religious yearnings? What is the objective authority of "facts" if not supported by an inwardly grounded authority? Varieties of interpretation are then set forth in the Mahayana texts as to the implication of Nirvana and other cognate conceptions to be found in the "original" teaching of the Buddha.

What is the relationship between Enlightenment and Nirvana? How did Buddhists come to realise Arhatship? What convinced them of their attainment? Is the Enlightenment of an Arhat the same as that of the Buddha? To answer these questions and many others in close connection with them was the task imposed upon various schools of Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism. While they quarreled much, they never forgot that they were all Buddhists and whatever interpretations they gave to these problems they were faithful to their Buddhist experience. They were firmly attached to the founder of their religion and only wished to get thoroughly intimate with the faith and teaching as were first promulgated by the Buddha. Some of them were naturally more conservative and wished to submit to the orthodox and traditional way of understanding the Dharma; but there were others as in every field of human life, whose inner experience meant more to them, and to harmonise this with the traditional authority they resorted to metaphysics to its fullest extent. Their efforts, there is no doubt, were honest and sincere, and when they thought they solved the difficulties or contradictions they were satisfied inwardly as well as intellectually. In fact they had no other means of egress from the spiritual *impasse* in which they found themselves through the natural and inevitable growth of their inmost life. This was the way Buddhism had to develop if it ever had in it any life to grow.

There was one great original idea in the teaching of

the Buddha which proved fruitful in its later development in connection with his Enlightenment and Nirvana. I mean by this the doctrine of non-Atman which denies the existence of an ego-substance in our psychic life. When the notion of Atman was ruling Indian minds, it was a bold announcement on the part of the Buddha to regard it as the source of ignorance and transmigration. The theory of origination which seems to make up the foundation of the Buddha's teaching is thus finally resolved into the finding of a mischievous "designer" which works behind all our spiritual restlessness. Whatever interpretation was given to the doctrine of non-Atman in the early days of Buddhism, the idea came to be extended over to things inanimate as well. Not only there was no ego-substance in our mental life, but there was no ego in the physical world, which meant that we could not separate in reality acting from actor, force from mass, or life from its manifestations. As far as thinking goes, we can establish these two pairs of conception as limiting each other, but in the actuality of things they must all be one, as we cannot impose our logical way of thinking upon reality in its concreteness. When we transfer this separation from thought to reality, we encounter many difficulties not only intellectual but moral and spiritual, from which we suffer an unspeakable anguish later on. This was felt by the Buddha, and he called this mixing up ignorance. The Mahayana doctrine of *Śūnyatā* was a natural conclusion. But I need not make any remark here that the *Śūnyatā* theory is not nihilism or acosmism, but that it has its positive background which sustains it and gives life to it.

It was quite logical for Buddhists to endeavour to find a philosophical explanation of Enlightenment and Nirvana in the theory of non-Atman or *Śūnyatā* to the best of their intellectual power and in the light of their spiritual experience. They finally found out that Enlightenment was not a thing

especially belonging to the Buddha himself, but that each one of us could attain it if he got rid of ignorance by understanding the dualistic conception of life and the world; they further concluded that Nirvana was not vanishing into a state of absolute non-existence which was an impossibility as long as we had to reckon with the actual facts of life, and that Nirvana in its ultimate signification was an affirmation—an affirmation beyond opposites of all kinds. This metaphysical understanding of the fundamental problem of Buddhism marks the features of the Mahayana.

Almost all Buddhist scholars in Japan agree that all these characteristic ideas of the Mahayana are systematically traceable in the Hinayana literature, and that all the reconstructions and transformations which the Mahayanists are supposed to have put on the original form of Buddhism are really nothing but an unbroken continuation of one original Buddhist spirit and life, and further that even the so-called primitive Buddhism as is expounded in the Pali canons and in the Āgama texts of the Chinese Tripitaka, is also the result of an elaboration on the part of the earlier followers of the Buddha. If Mahayana is not Buddhism proper, neither is Hinayana, for the historical reason that neither of them represents the teaching of the Buddha as it was preached by the Master himself. Unless one limits the use of the term Buddhism very narrowly and only to a certain form of it, no one can very well refuse to include both Mahayana and Hinayana in the same denomination. And, in my opinion, it is proper, considering the organic relation between system and experience, that the term Buddhism should be used in a broad, comprehensive, and inward sense.

This is not the place to enter into the details of organic relationship existing between the Hinayana and the Mahayana; for the object of this introduction is to delineate the course of

development as traversed by Zen Buddhism before it has reached the present form. Having outlined my position with regard to the definition of Buddhism and Mahayana in general as a manifestation of Buddhist life and thought, the next step will be to see where lies the source of Zen and how it is one of the legitimate successors and transmitters of the Buddhist spirit.

#### ZEN AND ENLIGHTENMENT

The origin of Zen is to be sought in Supreme Perfect Enlightenment (*anuttara-samyak-sambodhi*) attained by the Buddha while he was sitting under the Bodhi-tree. If this Enlightenment was of no value to the development of Buddhism, Zen then had nothing to do with Buddhism, it was altogether another thing created by the genius of Bodhi-Dharma who visited China early in the sixth century. But if Enlightenment was the *raison d'être* of Buddhism, that is to say, if Buddhism was an edifice erected on the solid basis of this Enlightenment, realised by the Buddha, Zen was the central pillar which supported the entire structure, it composed the direct line of continuation drawn out from the content of the Buddha's illumined mind. Traditionally, Zen is considered to have been transmitted by the Buddha to his foremost disciple, Mahākāśyapa, when the Buddha held out a bunch of flowers to his congregation, the meaning of which was at once grasped by Mahākāśyapa who quietly smiled at him. The historicity of this incident is justly criticised, but knowing the value of Enlightenment we cannot ascribe the authority of Zen just to such an episode as this. Zen was in fact handed over not only to Mahākāśyapa but to all beings who will follow the steps of the Buddha, the Enlightened One.

Like a true Indian the Buddha's idea of ascetic meditation was to attain Vimoksha (or simply Moksha, deliverance) from

the bondage of birth and death. There were several ways open to him to reach the goal. According to the Brahman philosophers of those days, the great fruit of deliverance could be matured by embracing the religious truth, or by practising asceticism or chastity, or by learning, or by freeing oneself from passions. Each in its way was an excellent means, and if they were practised severally or all together, they might result in emancipation of some kind. But the philosophers talked about methods and did not give one any trustworthy information concerning their actual spiritual experience, and what the Buddha wished was this self-realisation, a personal experience, an actual insight into truth, and not mere discoursing about methods, or playing with concepts. He detested all philosophical reasonings which he called *drishti* or *darśana*; for they would lead him nowhere, bring him no practical result in his spiritual life. He was never satisfied until he inwardly realised the Bodhi as the truth immediately presented to his transcendental consciousness and whose absolute nature was so inner, so self-convincing as he had no doubt whatever in regard to its universal validity. The content of this Enlightenment was explained by the Buddha as the Dharma which was to be directly perceived (*sundittulika*), beyond limits of time (*akālika*), to be personally experienced (*ehi-passaka*), and altogether persuasive (*opanaṭṭhika*). This meant that the Dharma was to be intuited and not to be analytically reached by concepts. The reason why the Buddha so frequently refused to answer metaphysical problems was partly due to his conviction that the ultimate truth was to be realised in oneself through one's own efforts; for all that could be gained through discursive understanding was the surface of things and not things themselves; conceptual knowledge never gave full satisfaction to one's religious yearning. The attainment of the Bodhi could not be the accumulation of dialectical subtleties. And this is the position taken up by Zen Buddhism as regards what it

considers final reality. Zen in this respect faithfully follows the injunction of the Master.

While the ideal of Arhatship was no doubt the entering into Nirvana that leaves nothing behind (*anupadhiśeṣha*), it did not ignore the significance of Enlightenment, no, it could not do so very well without endangering its own reason of existence. For Nirvana was nothing else in its essence than Enlightenment, the content was identical in either case. Enlightenment was Nirvana reached while yet in the flesh, and no Nirvana was ever possible without obtaining an Enlightenment. The latter may have a more intellectual note in it than the former, which is a psychological state realised through Enlightenment. Bodhi is spoken of in the so-called primitive Buddhism just as much as Nirvana. So long as passions were not subdued, and the mind still remained enshrouded in ignorance, no Buddhist could ever dream of obtaining a moksha (deliverance) which is Nirvana, and this deliverance from ignorance and passions was the work of Enlightenment. Generally, Nirvana is understood in its negative aspect as the total extinction of everything, body and soul, but in the actuality of life no such negativist conception could ever prevail, and the Buddha never meant Nirvana to be so interpreted. If there were nothing affirmative in Nirvana, the Mahayanists could never have evolved the positive conception of it later on. Though the immediate disciples of the Buddha were not conscious of this, there was always the thought of Enlightenment implied in it. Enlightenment attained by the Buddha after a week's meditation under the Bodhi-tree could not be of no consequence to his Arhat-disciples, however negatively the latter tended to apply this principle to the attainment of their life-object.

The true significance of Enlightenment was effectively brought out by the Mahayanists not only in its intellectual implications but in its moral and religious bearings. The re-



sult was the conception of Bodhisattvaship in contradistinction to Arhatship, the ideal of their rival school. The Arhat and the Bodhisattva are essentially the same. But the Mahayanists, perceiving a deeper sense in Enlightenment as the most important constituent element in the attainment of the final goal of Buddhism, which is spiritual freedom, did not wish to confine its operation in oneself, but wanted to see it realised in every being sentient and even non-sentient. Not only was this their subjective yearning, but there was an objective basis on which the yearning could be justified and realised. It was the presence in every individual of a faculty designated by the Mahayanists as *Prajñā*. This was the principle that made Enlightenment possible in us as well as in the Buddha. Without *Prajñā* there could be no Enlightenment, which was the highest spiritual power in our possession. The intellect or what is ordinarily known by Buddhist scholars as *Vijñāna*, was relative in its activity, and could not comprehend the ultimate truth which is Enlightenment. The ultimate truth was what lifted us above the dualism of matter and spirit, of ignorance and wisdom, of passion and non-attachment. Enlightenment consisted in personally realising the truth, ultimate and absolute and capable of affirmation. Thus we are all Bodhisattvas now, beings of Enlightenment, if not in actuality, then potentially. Bodhi-sattvas are also *Prajñā-sattvas*, as we are universally endowed with *Prajñā*, which, when fully and truly operating, will realise in us Enlightenment, and intellectually (in its highest sense) lift us above appearances.

If by virtue of Enlightenment Gautama was transformed into the Buddha, and then if all beings are endowed with *Prajñā* and capable of Enlightenment, that is, if they are thus Bodhisattvas, the logical conclusion will be that Bodhisattvas are all Buddhas, or destined to be Buddhas as soon as sufficient conditions obtain. Hence the Mahayana doctrine that all beings, sentient or non-sentient, are endowed with Buddha-nature,



and that our minds are the Buddha-mind and our bodies are the Buddha-body. The Buddha before his Enlightenment was an ordinary mortal, and we, ordinary mortals, will be Buddhas the moment our mental eye opens to Enlightenment. In this do we not see plainly the most natural and most logical course of things leading up to the main teaching of Zen as it later developed in China and Japan?

How intensely and extensively the concept of Enlightenment influenced the development of Mahayana Buddhism may be seen in the composition of the *Saddharmapundarika*, which is really the Mahayana protest against the Hinayana conception of the Buddha's Enlightenment. According to the latter, the Buddha attained it at Gayā while meditating under the Bodhi-tree; for they regarded the Buddha as a mortal being like themselves, subject to historical and psychological conditions. But the Mahayanists could not be satisfied with such a realistic common-sense interpretation of the personality of the Buddha, they saw something in it which went deep into their hearts and wanted to come in immediate touch with it. What they sought was finally given, and they found that the idea of the Buddha's being a common soul was a delusion, that the Tathāgata arrived in his Supreme Perfect Enlightenment "many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of æons ago," and that all those historical "facts" in his life which are recorded in the Āgama literature are his "skilful devices" to lead creatures to full ripeness and go in the Buddha Way. In other words, this means that Enlightenment is the absolute reason of the universe and the essence of Buddhahood, and therefore that to obtain Enlightenment is to realise in one's inner consciousness the ultimate truth of the world which for ever is. While the *Pundarika* emphasises the Buddha-aspect of Enlightenment, Zen directs its attention mainly to the Enlightenment-aspect of Buddhahood. When this latter aspect is considered

intellectually, we have the philosophy of Buddhist dogmatics which is studied by scholars of the Tendai, Kegon, Hosso, and other schools. Zen approaches it from the practical side of life, that is, to work out Enlightenment in life itself.

If the idea of Enlightenment played such an important rôle in the development of Mahayana Buddhism, what is the content of it? Can we describe it in an intelligible manner so that our analytical intellect could grasp it and make it an object of thought? The Fourfold Noble Truth was not the content of Enlightenment, nor were the Twelve Chains of Causation, nor the Eightfold Righteous Path. The truth flashed through the Buddha's consciousness was not such a thought capable of discursive unfolding. When he exclaimed :

“Through birth and rebirth's endless round,  
Seeking in vain, I hastened on,  
To find who framed this edifice,  
What misery! — birth incessantly!  
“O builder! I've discovered thee!  
This fabric thou shalt ne'er rebuild!  
Thy rafters all are broken now,  
And pointed roof demolished lies!  
This mind has demolition reached,  
And seen the last of all desire!”

he must have grasped something much deeper than mere dialectics. There must have been something most fundamental and ultimate which at once set all his doubts at rest, not only intellectual doubts but spiritual anguish. Indeed, forty-nine years of his active life after Enlightenment were commentaries on it, and yet they did not exhaust its content; nor did all the later speculations of Nāgārjuna, Āśvaghosha, and Vasubhandu, and Asanga explain it away. In the *Lankāvatāra* therefore the author makes the Buddha confess that since his Enlightenment till his passing into Nirvana he uttered not a word.

Therefore, again, with all his memory and learning, Ānanda could not reach the bottom of the Buddha's wisdom, while the latter was still alive. According to tradition, Ānanda's attainment to Arhatship took place at the time of the First Convocation, in which he was not allowed to take part in spite of his twenty-five years' attendance upon the Buddha. Grieving over the fact, he spent the whole night perambulating in an open square and when he was about to lay himself down on a couch all exhausted, he all of a sudden came to realise the truth of Buddhism, which with all his knowledge and understanding had escaped him all those years.

What does this mean? Arhatship is evidently not a matter of scholarship; it is something realised in the twinkling of an eye after a long arduous application to the matter. The preparatory course may occupy a long stretch of time, but the crisis breaks out at a point instantaneously, and one is an Arhat, or a Bodhisattva, or even a Buddha. The content of Enlightenment must be quite simple in nature and yet tremendous in effect. That is to say, intellectually, it must transcend all the complications involved in an epistemological exposition of it; and psychologically, it must be the reconstruction of one's entire personality. Such a fundamental fact naturally evades description, and can be grasped only by an act of intuition. It is really the Dharma in its highest sense. If by the stirring of one thought Ignorance came into our life, the awakening of another thought must put a stop to Ignorance and bring out Enlightenment. No further explanation of the Dharma is possible, hence an appeal to *via negativa*. And this has reached its climax in the Śūnyatā philosophy of Nāgārjuna, which is based upon the teaching of the Prajñāpāramitā literature of Buddhism.

So we see that Enlightenment is not the outcome of an intellectual process in which one idea follows another in sequence finally to terminate in conclusion or judgment. There is neither

process nor judgment in Enlightenment, it is something more fundamental, something which makes a judgment possible, and without which no form of judgment can take place. In judgment there are a subject and a predicate; in Enlightenment subject is predicate, and predicate is subject; they are here merged as one, but not as one of which something can be stated, but as one from which arises judgment. We cannot go beyond this absolute oneness; all the intellectual operations stop here; when they endeavour to go on further, they draw a circle in which they for ever repeat themselves. This is the wall against which all philosophies have beaten in vain. This is an intellectual terra incognita, where prevails the principle, "*Credo quia absurdum est*," (I believe because it is irrational). This region of darkness, however, gives up its secrets when attacked by the will, by the force of one's entire personality. Enlightenment is the illuminating of this dark region, when the whole thing is seen at one glance, and all the intellectual inquiries find here their rationale. Hitherto one may have been intellectually convinced of the truth of a certain proposition, but somehow it has not yet entered into his life, the truth still lacks ultimate confirmation, and he cannot help feeling a vague sense of indeterminateness and uneasiness. Enlightenment now comes upon him in a mysterious way without any previous announcement, and all is settled with him, he is an Arhat or even a Buddha. The dragon has got its eyes dotted, and it is no more a lifeless image painted on a canvas, but winds and rains are its willing servants now.

When Śāriputra saw Aśvajit, he noticed how composed the latter was, with all his organs of sense well controlled and how clear and bright the colour of his skin was. Śāriputra could not help asking him who was his teacher and what doctrine he taught. To this Aśvajit replied: "The great Śākyamuni, the Blessed One, is my teacher and his doctrine in substance is this:

“The Buddha hath the cause told  
 Of all things springing from a cause;  
 And also how things cease to be—  
 ‘Tis this the Mighty Monk proclaims.”

It is said that on hearing this exposition of the Dharma, there arose in the mind of Śāriputra a clear and distinct perception of the Dharma that whatever is subject to origination is subject also to cessation. Śāriputra then attained to the deathless, sorrowless state, lost sight of and neglected for many myriads of kalpas.

The point to which I wish to call attention here is this: Is there anything intellectually remarkable or brilliant or original in this stanza that has miraculously awakened Śāriputra from his habitually cherished way of thinking? As far as the Buddha's Dharma (Doctrine) was concerned, there was not much of anything in these four lines. It is said that they are the substance of the Dharma; if so, the Dharma may be said to be rather devoid of substance, and how could Śāriputra ever find here a truth deep enough to turn him away from the old rut? The stanza which is noted for having achieved the conversion of not only Śāriputra but Maudgalyāyana, has really nothing characteristic of Buddhist thought, strong enough to produce such a great result. The reason for this, therefore, must be sought somewhere else, that is, not in the objective truth contained in the stanza, but in the subjective condition of the one to whose ears it chanced to fall. It was in the mind of Śāriputra that opened up to a clear and distinct understanding of the Dharma, that is to say, the Dharma was revealed in him as something growing out of himself and not as an external truth poured into him. In a sense the Dharma was created by his mind when it was ready just at the moment when Āsvajit's stanza was uttered. He was not a mere passive receptacle into which something not native to his Self was poured. The hearing of the stanza gave him

an opportunity to experience the supreme moment. If Śāriputra's understanding was intellectual and discursive, his dialogue with Ānanda later on could not take place in the way it did. In the Samyutta-Nikāya, iii, 235f, we read :

Ānanda saw Śāriputra coming afar off, and he said to him ; "Serene and pure and radiant is your face, Brother Śāriputra ! In what mood has Śāriputra been today ?"

"I have been alone in Dhyāna, Brother, and to me came never the thought : *I am attaining it ! I have got it ! I have emerged from it !*"

Here we notice the distinction between an intellectual and a spiritual understanding which is Enlightenment. When Śāriputra referred to the cause of his being so serene, pure, and radiant, he did not explain it logically but just stated the fact as he subjectively interpreted it himself. Whether this interpretation of his own is correct or not takes the psychologist to decide. What I wish to see here is that Śāriputra's understanding of the doctrine of "origination and cessation" was not the outcome of his intellectual analysis but an intuitive comprehension of his own inner life-process. Between the Buddha's Enlightenment which is sung in the Hymn of Victory and Śāriputra's insight into the Dharma as the doctrine of causation, there is a close connection in the way their minds worked. In the one Enlightenment came first and then its expression ; in the other a definite statement was addressed first and then came an insight ; the process is reversed here. But the inadequacy of relation between antecedent and consequence remains the same. The one does not sufficiently explain the other, when the logical and intellectual understanding alone is taken into consideration.

If the Buddha's Enlightenment really contained so much in it that he himself could not sufficiently demonstrate or illustrate it with his "long thin tongue" (*prabhūtatanyijihva*) through his long peaceful life given to meditation and discoursing, how could those less than he ever hope to grasp it and attain

spiritual emancipation? This is the position taken up by Zen : . To comprehend the truth of Enlightenment, therefore, we must exercise some other mental power than intellection, if we are at all in possession of such. Discoursing fails to reach the goal and yet we have an unsatiated aspiration after the unattainable. Are we then meant to live and die thus tormented for ever? If so, this is the most lamentable situation in which we find ourselves on earth. Buddhists have applied themselves most earnestly to the solution of the problem and have finally come to see that we have after all within ourselves what we need. This is the power of intuition possessed by spirit and able to comprehend spiritual truth which will show us all the secrets of life making up the content of Buddha's Enlightenment. It is not an ordinary intellectual process of reasoning, but a power that will grasp something most fundamental in an instant and in the directest way. *Prajñā* is the name given to this power by Buddhists, as I said, and what Zen Buddhism aims at in its relation to the doctrine of Enlightenment is to awaken *Prajñā* by the exercise of meditation.

We read in the *Saddharma-piṇḍarīka* : "O Śāriputra, the true Law understood by the Tathagata cannot be reasoned, is beyond the pale of reasoning. Why? For the Tathagata appears in the world to carry out one great object, which is to make all beings accept, see, enter into, and comprehend the knowledge and insight gained by the Tathagata, and also to make them enter upon the path of knowledge and insight attained by the Tathagata.....Those who learn it from the Tathagata also reach his Supreme Perfect Enlightenment." If such was the one great object of the Buddha's appearance on earth, how do we get into the path of insight and realise Supreme Perfect Enlightenment? And if this Dharma of Enlightenment is beyond the limits of the understanding, no amount of philosophising will ever bring us nearer the goal. How do we then learn it from the Tathagata? Decidedly not



from his mouth, nor from the records of his sermons, nor from the ascetic practise; but from our own inner consciousness through the exercise of Dhyana. And this is the doctrine of Zen.

#### ENLIGHTENMENT AND SPIRITUAL FREEDOM

When the doctrine of Enlightenment makes its appeal to the inner experience of the Buddhist and its content is to be grasped immediately without any conceptual medium, the sole authority in his spiritual life will have to be found within himself; traditionalism or institutionalism will naturally lose all its binding force. According to him, then, propositions will be true, that is, living, because they are in accordance with his spiritual insight; and his actions will permit no external standard of judgment; as long as they are the inevitable overflow of his inner life, they are good, even holy. The direct issue of this interpretation of Enlightenment will be the upholding of absolute spiritual freedom in every way, which will further lead to the unlimited expansion of his mental outlook going beyond the narrow bounds of monastic and scholastic Buddhism. This was not however, from the Mahayanistic point of view, against the spirit of the Buddha.

The constitution of the Brotherhood will now have to change. In the beginning of Buddhism, it was a congregation of homeless monks who subjected themselves to a certain set of ascetic rules of life. In this Buddhism was an exclusive possession of the *élite*, and the general public or Upāsaka group which accepted the Threefold Refuge Formula was a sort of appendage to the regular or professional Brotherhood. When Buddhism was still in its first stage of development, even nuns (*Bhikṣuṇī*) were not allowed into the community; the Buddha received them only after great reluctance, prophesying that Buddhism would now live only a half of its normal life. We can readily see from this fact that the



teaching of the Buddha and the doctrine of Enlightenment were meant to be practised and realised only among limited classes of people. While the Buddha regarded the various elements of his congregation with perfect impartiality, cherishing no prejudices as to their social, racial, and other distinctions, the full benefit of his teaching could not extend beyond the monastic boundaries. If there was nothing in it that could benefit mankind in general, this exclusiveness was naturally to be expected. But the doctrine of Enlightenment was something that could not be kept thus imprisoned, it had many things in it that would overflow all the limitations set to it. When the conception of Bodhisattvahood came to be emphatically asserted, a monastic and self-excluding community could no longer hold its ground. A religion of monks and nuns had to become a religion of laymen and laywomen. An ascetic discipline leading to the Anupadīśesha Nirvana had to give away to a system of teaching that will make one attain Enlightenment and demonstrate Nirvana in life. In all the Mahayana Sūtras, this general tendency in the unfoldment of Buddhism is vehemently asserted, showing how intense was the struggle between conservatism and progressivism.

This spirit of freedom which is the power impelling Buddhism to break through its monastic shell and bringing forward the idea of Enlightenment ever vigorously before the masses, is the life-impulse of the universe, — this unhampered activity of spirit, and everything that interferes with it is destined to be defeated. The history of Buddhism is thus also a history of freedom in one's spiritual, intellectual, and moral life. The moral aristocracy and disciplinary formalism of primitive Buddhism could not bind our spirit for a very long period of time. As the doctrine of Enlightenment grew to be more and more inwardly interpreted, the spirit rose above the formalism of Buddhist discipline. It was of no

absolute necessity for one to leave his home life and follow the footsteps of the wandering monks in order to reach the supreme fruit of Enlightenment. Inward purity, and not external piety, was the thing needed for the Buddhist life. The Upāsakas were in this respect as good as the Bhiksus. The fact is most eloquently illustrated in the *Vimalakīrti-Sūtra*. The chief character here is Vimalakīrti, a lay philosopher, outside the pale of the Brotherhood. None of the Buddha's disciples were his matches in the depth, breadth, and subtleties of thought, and when the Buddha told them to visit his sickroom, they all excused themselves for some reason or other, except Mañjuśrī, who is Prajñā incarnate in Mahayana Buddhism.

That the lay-devotees thus asserted themselves even at the expense of the Arhats, may also be gleaned from other sources than the *Vimalakīrti*, but especially from such Sūtras as the *Śrīmālā*, *Gaṇḍhavyūha*, *Vajrasamādhi*, *Āmṛtavarodhī*, etc. What is most noteworthy in this connection is that woman plays an important rôle on various occasions. Not only is she endowed with philosophising talents, but she stands on equal footing with man. Among the fifty-three philosophers or leaders of thought visited by Sudhana in his religious pilgrimage, he interviewed many women in various walks of life, and some of whom were even courtesans. They all wisely discoursed with the insatiable seeker of truth. What a different state of affairs this was when compared with the reluctant admission of women into the Sangha in the early days of Buddhism! Later Buddhism may have lost something in austerity, aloofness, and even saintliness which appeal strongly to our religious imagination, but it has gained in democracy, picturesqueness, and largely in humanity.

The free spirit which wanders out beyond the monastic walls of the Brotherhood now follows its logical consequence

and endeavours to transcend the disciplinary rules and the ascetic formalism of the Hinayanists. The moral rules that were given by the Buddha to his followers as they were called for by contingencies of life, were concerned more or less with externalism. When the Buddha remained with them as the living spirit of the Brotherhood, these rules were the direct expressions of their subjective life; but with the Buddha's departure, they grew formal and failed to reach the inner spirit of the Buddhists, and the followers of Enlightenment revolted against them, upholding the spirit that giveth life. They advocated perfect freedom of spirit, even after the fashion of antinomianists. If the spirit were pure, no acts of the body could spoil it; it could wander about anywhere it liked with absolute immunity. It would even go down to hell if it were necessary or expedient for them to do so for the sake of the salvation of the depraved. It would indefinitely postpone the entering into Nirvana if there were still souls to save and minds to enlighten. According to the letter that killeth, no Buddhists were allowed to enter a liquor shop, or to be familiar with inmates of the houses barred from respectability, in short, even for a moment to be thinking of violating any of the moral precepts. But to the Mahayanists all kinds of "expediency" or "devices" were granted if they were fully enlightened and had their spirits thoroughly purgated. They were living in a realm beyond good and evil, and as long as they were there, no acts of theirs could be classified and judged according to the ordinary measure of ethics; they were neither moral nor immoral. These relative terms had no application in a kingdom governed by free spirits. This is a most slippery ground for the Mahayanists. When they were really enlightened and fathomed the depths of spirituality, every deed of theirs was a creative act of God, but in this extreme form of idealism, objectivity had no room, and consequently who could ever distinguish libertinism from spiritualism? In spite

of this pitfall the Mahayanists were in the right in consistently following up all the implications of the doctrine of Enlightenment. Their parting company with the Hinayanists was inevitable.

The doctrine of Enlightenment leads to the inwardness of one's spiritual experience, which cannot be analysed intellectually without somehow involving logical contradictions. It thus seeks to break through every intellectual barrier that may be set against it, it longs for emancipation in every form, not only in the understanding but in life itself. Enlightenment is thus liable to degenerate into libertinism. If the Mahayanists remained here and did not see further into the real nature of Prajñā, they would have certainly followed the fates of the Friends of Free Spirit, but they knew how Enlightenment realises its true signification in love for all beings and how freedom of spirit has its own principle to follow though nothing external is imposed upon it. For freedom does not mean lawlessness, which is the destruction and annihilation of itself, but creating out of its inner life-force all that is good and beautiful. This creating is called by the Mahayanists "skilful device" (*upāya-kauśalya*), in which Enlightenment is harmoniously wedded to love. Enlightenment when intellectually conceived is not dynamical and stops at illuminating the path which love will tread. But Prajñā is more than merely intellectual, it produces Karūṇa (love or pity), and with her cooperation it achieves the great end of life, the salvation of all beings from ignorance and passions and misery. It now knows no end in devising or creating all kinds of means to carry out its own teleological functions. The *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka* regards the Buddha's appearance on earth and his life in history as the "skilful devices" of world-salvation on the part of the Supreme Being of Eternal Enlightenment. This creation, however, ceases to be a creation in its perfect sense when

the creator grows conscious of its teleological implication; for here then is a split in his consciousness which will check the spontaneous flowing-out of spirit, and then freedom will be lost at its source. Such devices as have grown conscious of their purposes are no more "skilful devices"; and according to the Buddhists they do not reflect the perfect state of Enlightenment.

Thus the doctrine of Enlightenment is to be supplemented by the doctrine of Device (*upāya*), or the latter may be said to evolve by itself from the first when it is conceived dynamically and not as merely contemplative state of consciousness. The earlier Buddhists showed the tendency to consider Enlightenment essentially reflective or a state of tranquillity. They made it something lifeless and altogether uncreative. This however did not bring out all that was contained in Enlightenment. The affective element which moved the Buddha to come out of his *Sāgaramudrā-samādhi*—a *Samādhi* in which the whole universe was reflected in his consciousness as the moon stamps her image on the ocean, has now developed into the doctrine of Device. By this the wantonness of a free spirit is regulated to operate in the great work of universal salvation. Its creative activity will devise all possible means for the sake of love for all beings animate as well as inanimate. *Dhyāna* is one of those devices which will keep our minds in balance and well under the control of the will. Zen is the outcome of the *Dhyāna* discipline applied to the attainment of Enlightenment.

#### ZEN AND DHYĀNA

The term "Zen", (*Chan* in Chinese), is an abbreviated form of *zenna* or *channa* (禪那), which is the Chinese rendering of "*Dhyāna*," or "*Jhāna*," and from this fact alone it is evident that Zen has a great deal to do with this practice

which has been carried on from the early days of Buddha, indeed from the beginning of Indian culture. Dhyāna is usually rendered in English meditation, and the idea is to meditate on a truth, religious or philosophical, so that it may be thoroughly comprehended and deeply engraved into the inner consciousness. This is generally practised in a quiet place away from the noise and confusion of the world. Allusion to this abounds in Indian literature; and "To sit alone in a quiet place and to devote oneself to meditation exclusively" (獨一靜處專精禪思) is the phrase one meets everywhere in the Āgamas. An appeal to the analytical understanding is never sufficient to thoroughly comprehend the inwardness of a truth, especially when it is a religious one; nor is mere compulsion by an external force adequate for bringing about a spiritual transformation in us. We must experience in our innermost consciousness all that is implied in a doctrine, when we are able not only to understand it but to put it in practice. There will then be no discrepancy between knowledge and life. The Buddha knew this very well, and he endeavoured to produce knowledge out of meditation, this is, to make wisdom grow from personal, spiritual experience. The Buddhist way to deliverance, therefore, consisted in threefold discipline: moral rules (*śīla*), tranquilisation (*saṃādhi*), and wisdom (*prajñā*). By Śīla one's conduct is regulated externally, by Saṃādhi quietude is attained, and by Prajñā real understanding takes place. Hence the importance of meditation in Buddhism.

Samādhi and Dhyāna are to a great extent synonymous and interchangeable, but strictly Samādhi is a psychological state realised by the exercise of Dhyāna. The latter is the process and the former is the goal. The Buddhist scriptures make reference to so many Samādhis, and before delivering a sermon the Buddha generally enters into a Samādhi,\* but

\* One hundred and eight Samādhis are enumerated in the *Mahāvyaṣṭipatti*.

never I think into a Dhyāna. The latter is practised or exercised. But frequently in China Dhyāna and Samādhi are combined to make one word, 禪 . 定, meaning a state of quietude attained by the exercise of meditation or Dhyāna. There are some other terms analogous to these two which are met with in Buddhist literature. They are Samāpatti (coming together), Samāhita (collecting the thoughts), Śamatha (tranquilisation), Cittaikāgratā (concentration), Dṛṣṭa-dharma-sukha-vihāra (abiding in the bliss of the Law perceived), etc. They are all connected with the central idea of Dhyāna, which is to tranquilise the turbulence of self-assertive passions and to bring about a state of absolute identity in which the truth is realised in its inwardness, that is, a state of Enlightenment. The analytical tendency of Buddhist philosophers is also evident in this when they distinguish four or eight kinds of Dhyāna.

The first Dhyāna is an exercise in which the mind is made to concentrate on one single subject until all the coarse affective elements are vanished from consciousness except the serene feelings of joy and peace. But the intellect is still active, judgment and reflection operate upon the object of contemplation. When these intellectual operations too are quieted and the mind is simply concentrated on one point, it is said that we have attained the second Dhyāna, but the feelings of joy and peace are still here. In the third stage of Dhyāna, perfect serenity obtains as the concentration grows deeper, but the subtlest mental activities are not vanished and at the same time a joyous feeling remains. When the fourth and last stage is reached, even this feeling of self-enjoyment disappears, and what prevails in consciousness now is perfect serenity of contemplation. All the intellectual and the emotional factors liable to disturb spiritual tranquillity are successively controlled, and the mind in absolute composure



remains absorbed in contemplation. In this there takes place a fully-adjusted equilibrium between Śamatha and Vipassanā, that is, between tranquillisation or cessation and contemplation. In all Buddhist discipline this harmony is always sought after. For when the mind tips either way, it grows either too heavy or too light, either too torpid in mental activity or too given up to intellection. The spiritual exercise ought to steer ahead without being hampered by either tendency, they ought to strike the middle path.

There are further stages of Dhyāna called "Āruppa" which are practised by those who have passed beyond the last stage of Dhyāna. The first is to contemplate the infinity of space, not disturbed by the manifoldness of matter; the second is on the infinity of consciousness as against the first; the third is meant to go still further beyond the distinction of space and thought; and the fourth is to eliminate even this consciousness of non-distinction, to be thus altogether free from any trace of analytical intellection. Besides these eight Samāpatti ("coming together") exercises, technically so called, the Buddha sometimes refers to still another form of meditation. This is more or less definitely contrasted to the foregoing by not being so exclusively intellectual but partly affective, as it aims at putting a full stop to the operation of Samjñā (thought) and Vedita (sensation), that is, of the essential elements of consciousness. It is almost a state of death, total extinction, except that one in this Dhyāna has life, warmth, and the sense-organs in perfect condition. But in point of fact it is difficult to distinguish this Nirodha-vimoksha (deliverance by cessation) from the last stage of the Āruppa meditation, in both of which consciousness ceases to function even in its simplest and most fundamental acts.

Whatever this was, it is evident that the Buddha like the Indian leaders of thought endeavoured to make his disciples realise in themselves the content of Enlightenment by



means of Dhyāna, or concentration. They were thus made gradually to progress from a comparatively simple exercise up to the highest stage of concentration in which the dualism of the One and the Many vanished even to the extent of a total cessation of mentation. Apart from these general spiritual exercises, the Buddha at various times told his followers to meditate on such an object as would make them masters of their disturbing passions and intellectual entanglements.

We can now see how Zen developed out of this system of spiritual exercises. Zen adopted the external form of Dhyāna as the most practical method to realise the end it had in view, but as to its content Zen had its own way of interpreting the spirit of the Buddha. The Dhyāna practised by primitive Buddhists was not in full accord with the object of Buddhism, which is no other than the attaining of Enlightenment and demonstrating it in one's everyday life. To do away with consciousness so that nothing will disturb spiritual serenity was too negative to correspond with the positive content of the Buddha's own enlightened mind. Tranquilisation was not the real end of Dhyāna, nor was the being absorbed in a Samādhi the object of Buddhist life. Enlightenment was to be found in life itself, in its fuller and freer expressions, and not in its cessation. What was it that made the Buddha pass all his life in religious peregrination? What was it that moved him to sacrifice his own well-being, in fact his whole life, for the sake of his fellow-creatures? If Dhyāna had no positive object except in pacifying passions and enjoying absorption in the unconscious, why did the Buddha leave his seat under the Bodhi-tree and come out into the world? If Enlightenment was merely a negative state of cessation, the Buddha could not find any impulse in him that would urge him to exertion in behalf of others. Critics sometimes forget this fact when they try to understand Buddhism simply as a

system of teaching as recorded in the Āgamas and in Pali Buddhist literature. As I said before, Buddhism is also a system built by his disciples upon the personality of the Buddha himself, in which the spirit of the Master is more definitely affirmed. And this is what Zen has in its own way been attempting to do—to develop the idea of Enlightenment more positively and intellectually by the practice of Dhyāna and in conformity with the spirit of general Buddhism, in which life, purged of its blind impulses and sanctified by an insight into its real values, will be asserted.

## ZEN AND THE LANKĀVATĀRA

Of so many Sūtras that were introduced into China, the one in which the principles of Zen are more expressly and directly expounded than any others is the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*. Zen, as its followers justly claim, does not base its authority on any written documents, but directly appeals to the enlightened mind of the Buddha. It refuses to do anything with externalism in all its variegated modes, even the Sūtras are looked down upon as not touching the inward facts of Zen. Hence its reference to the mystic dialogue between the Buddha and Mahākāśyapa on a bouquet of flowers. But Bodhi-Dharma, the founder of Zen in China, handed the *Lankāvatāra* over to his first Chinese disciple Hui-k'è (慧可) as the only literature in existence at the time in China, in which the principles of Zen are taught. When Zen unconditionally emphasises one's immediate experience as the final fact on which it is established, it may well ignore all the scriptural sources as altogether unessential to its truth; and on this principle its followers have quite neglected the study of the *Lankāvatāra*. But to justify the position of Zen for those who have not yet grasped it, an external authority may be quoted and conceptual arguments resorted to in perfect harmony with its truth. This was why Dharma selected the Sūtra out of so many that had been in

existence in China in his day. We must approach the *Lankāvatāra* with this frame of mind.

There are three Chinese translations of the Sutra still in existence. There was a fourth one, but it was lost. The first in four volumes was produced during the Ling Sung dynasty (A.D. 443) by Gunabhadra, the second in ten volumes comes from the pen of Bodhiruci, of the Yüan-Wu dynasty (A.D. 513), and the third in seven volumes is by Śikshananda, of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 700). The last-mentioned is the easiest to understand and the first the most difficult, and it was this that was delivered by Dharma to his disciple Hui-K'ê as containing the "essence of mind." In form and in content this translation reflects the earliest text of the Sutra, and on it are written all the commentaries we have at present in Japan.

The special features of this Sutra which distinguish it from the other Mahayānā writings is, first, that the subject-matter is not systematically developed, but is a series of notes of various lengths; secondly, that the Sutra is devoid of any supernatural demonstrations, it is filled with deep philosophical and religious statements concerning the central teaching of the Sutra; thirdly, it is exclusively dialogues between the Buddha and the Bodhisattva Mahāmāti; and lastly, that it contains no Dharanis or Mantrams—those mystical formulas supposed to have a miraculous power.

The main thesis of the *Lankāvatāra* deals with the content of Enlightenment, that is, the Buddha's own inner experience concerning the great religious truth of Mahayana Buddhism. Most of the readers of the Sutra have singularly failed to see this, and contend that the writing belongs to the Yogācārya school, and that it principally explains the five Dharmas, the three characteristics of Reality, the eight kinds of Consciousness, and the two forms of Non-ego. It is true that the Sutra reflects

the psychological school of Buddhism advocated by Asanga and Vasubhandu, when for instance it refers to the *Ālaya-vijñāna* as the storage of all karmic seeds; but such and other references in fact do not constitute the central thought of the Sutra, they are merely made use of in explaining the philosophy of *Pratyātma-āryajñāna*. Therefore when Mahāmāti finishes praising the Buddha's virtues before the whole assembly at the summit of the Mount Lankā, the Buddha is quite definite in his declaration of the main theme of his discourse in this Sutra. Let us however first quote the song of the Bodhisattva Mahāmāti since it sums up in a concise and definite manner all the essentials of Mahayana Buddhism, and since at the same time it illustrates my statement concerning the union of Enlightenment and Love.

The hymn runs as follows :

"The world is like an ethereal flower, of which we cannot say whether it is or it is not: and the Reason (*Prajñā*), in which there obtains neither being nor non-being, awakens the heart of great pity.

"All things are like visions, they are without mind and consciousness: and the Reason in which there obtains neither being nor non-being awakens the heart of great pity.

"When the ideas of disruption and continuity are done away with, the world is always like a dream, and the Reason in which there obtains neither being nor non-being awakens the heart of great pity.

"When one understands that there is no ego either in subject or object, all passions and prejudices are purgated, one is always pure and free from form and awakens the heart of great pity.

"There is no such thing as Nirvana anywhere, the Buddha does not reside in Nirvana, nor does Nirvana reside in the Buddha. [In the ultimate truth] there is neither Enlightenment nor the Enlightened; being and non-being—these two are done away with.

"Consider how serene is the Muni, which comes from doing away with [the ideas of relativity]! This is called non-attachment, he remains unstained now and hereafter."

After this says the Buddha: "O you, sons of the Jina, question me anything you feel like asking. I am going to tell you about the state of my inner attainment (*pratyātmagatigocanam*)." This is conclusive, nothing is left to discussion

concerning the theme of the *Lankāvatāra*. The five Dharmas, the three Marks, etc., are referred to only in the course of the Buddha's exposition of the principal matter

The two later translations contain extra chapters, one at the beginning and the other at the end, and are divided regularly in one into ten and in the other into eighteen chapters while the earlier one has just one chapter title for the whole book, "The Gist of all the Buddha-words." The first extra chapter which is not found in Bodhi-Dharma's text is significant in that it gives the outlines of the whole Sutra in the form of a dialogue between the Buddha and Rāvana, Lord of Yakshas, in the Isle of Lankā. When the Buddha coming out of the Nāga's palace views the castle of Lankā, he smiles and remarks that this was the place where all the Buddhas of the past preached regarding the Excellent Understanding of Enlightenment realised in their inner consciousness (*svapratyātṃmāryajñāna*). As a special article will be devoted to this Sutra later on, I will refrain from entering into detail here, except that Bodhi-Dharma had good reason for recommending it to his disciples.

It now remains to see how the Buddha's inner experience known as Enlightenment came to be demonstrated in such a characteristic manner as is done in Zen, at first sight suggesting nothing of the so-called primitive Buddhism. We may observe here the law of growth or transformation in religion illustrated in a remarkable fashion.

The doctrine of Enlightenment is expounded in the *Lankāvatāra*, first, psychologically from the Yogācāryan point of view; secondly, logically as a state beyond the discursive understanding, which foreshadows the philosophy of *Śūnyatā*; thirdly, as the essence of Buddhahood, and, fourthly, in its practical bearing on the life of a Buddhist. As far as literature was concerned, this was the way Zen was made known to

China in the hands of Bodhi-Dharma. Dharma however did not deliver any sermons based on the *Lankāvatāra*; judging from the writing alleged to be his, he rather took his text from a Sutra entitled, *Vajrasamādhi* (金剛三昧經), about which the Zen masters following him do not profess to know any more than about the other Mahayana Sutras. In any event, Zen first proposed by Dharma differed in appearance from Zen that has grown up after him in the soil of transplantation, and my object in this chapter is to show why the Zen of Dharma and the *Lankāvatāra* or *Vajrasamādhi* came to be that of the later ages.

THE DOCTRINE OF ENLIGHTENMENT  
AS ZEN IN CHINA.

To understand how the doctrine of Enlightenment came to be translated in China as Zen Buddhism, we must first see where the Chinese mind varies from the Indian generally. When this is done, Zen will appear as a most natural product of the Chinese soil where Buddhism has been successfully transplanted in spite of many adverse conditions. Roughly, then, the Chinese are a practical people above all things, while the Indians are visionary and highly speculative. We cannot perhaps judge the Chinese as unimaginative and lacking in the dramatic sense, but when they are compared with the inhabitants of the Buddha's native land, they look so gray, so sombre. The geographical features of each country are singularly reflected in the people. The tropical luxuriance of imagination so strikingly contrasts with the wintry dreariness of common practicalness. Indians are subtle in analysis and dazzling in poetic flight; Chinese are children of earthly life, they plod, they never soar away in the air. Their daily life consists in tilling the soil, gathering dry leaves, drawing water, buying and selling, being filial, and observing social duties, and developing the most elaborate system of etiquette. Being practical means in a sense being historical, observing the progress of time and

recording its traces as they are left behind. The Chinese can very well boast of their being great recorders,—such a contrast to the Indian lack of sense of time. Not satisfied with books printed on paper and with ink, the Chinese would engrave their deeds deep in stone, and have developed a special art of stone-cutting. This recording events has developed their literature, and they are quite literary and not at all warlike, they love a peaceful life of culture. Their weakness is that they are willing to sacrifice facts for literary effects, for they are not very exact and scientific. Love of fine rhetoric and beautiful expressions has frequently drowned their practical sense, but here is also their art. Well restrained even in this, their soberness never reaches that form of fantasm which we encounter in most of the Mahayana texts.

The Chinese are in many ways great, their architecture is great indeed, their literary achievements deserve the world's thanks, but logic is not one of their strong points; nor are their philosophy and imagination. When Buddhism with all its characteristically Indian dialectics and imageries was first introduced into China, it must have staggered the Chinese minds. Look at its gods with many heads and arms,—something that has never entered into their heads, in fact into no other nation's than the Indian's. Think of the wealth of symbolism with which every being in Buddhist literature seems to be endowed. The mathematical conception of infinities, the Bodhisattva's plan of world-salvation, the wonderful stage-setting before the Buddha begins his sermons, not only in their general outlines but in their details—bold, yet accurate, soaring in flight, yet sure of every step,—these and many other features must have been things of wonderment to the practical and earth-plodding people of China.

One quotation from a Mahayana Sutra will convince the readers of the difference between Indian and Chinese minds, in



regard to their imaginative powers. In the *Saddharmapundarikā* the Buddha wishes to impress his disciples as to the length of time passed since his attainment of Supreme Enlightenment; he does not merely state that it is a mistake to think that his Enlightenment took place some countable number of years ago under the Bodhi-tree near the town of Gayā; nor does he say in a general way that it happened ages ago, which is very likely the way with the Chinese, but he describes in a most analytical way how remote an age it was that he came to Enlightenment.

"But, young men of good family, the truth is that many hundred thousand myriads of kotis of æons ago I have arrived at Supreme, Perfect Enlightenment. By way of example, young men of good family, let there be the atoms of earth of fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of worlds; let there exist some man who takes one of these atoms of dust and then goes in an eastern direction fifty hundred thousand myriads of kotis of worlds further on, there to deposit that atom of dust; let in this manner the man carry away from all those worlds the whole mass of earth, and in the same manner, and by the same act as supposed, deposit all those atoms in an eastern direction. Now would you think, young men of good family, that any one should be able to weigh, imagine, count, or determine [the number of] those worlds? The Lord having thus spoken, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Maitreya and the entire host of Bodhisattvas replied: They are incalculable, O Lord, those worlds, countless, beyond the range of thought. Not even all the disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, O Lord, with their Ārya-knowledge, will be able to imagine, weigh, count, or determine them. For us also, O Lord, who are Bodhisattvas standing on the place from whence there is no turning back, this point lies beyond the sphere of our comprehension; so innumerable, O Lord, are those worlds.

This said, the Buddha spoke to those Bodhisattvas Mahāsatt-



tvas as follows: I announce to you, young men of good family, I declare to you: However numerous be those worlds where that man deposits those atoms of dust and where he does not, there are not, young men of good family, in all those hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of worlds so many dust atoms as there are hundred thousands of myriads of kotis of aeons since I have arrived at Supreme, Perfect Enlightenment."

Such a conception of number and such a method of description would never have entered the Chinese mind. They are of course capable of conceiving long duration, and great achievements, in which they are not behind any nation; but to express their idea of vastness in the manner of the Indian philosophers would be beyond their understanding.

When things are not within the reach of conceptual description, ways open to most people will be either to remain silent, or to declare it to be beyond words, or to say simply "not this", "not that"; but the Indians have found another way of illustrating philosophical truths that cannot be appealed to analytical reasoning. They resorted to miracles or supernatural phenomena for their illustration. Thus they made the Buddha a great magician; not only the Buddha but almost all the chief characters appearing in the Mahayana scriptures became magicians. And in my view this is one of the most charming features of the Mahayana texts—this description of supernatural phenomena in connection with the teaching of abstruse doctrine. Some may think it altogether childish and injuring the dignity of the Buddha as a teacher of solemn religious truths. But this is a superficial interpretation of the matter. The Indian idealists knew far better; they had a more penetrating imagination which was always effectively employed by them whenever the intellect was put to a task beyond its power. We must understand that the motive of the Mahayanists who made

the Buddha perform all these magical feats was to illustrate in words what could not be done so in the very nature of things. When the intellect failed to analyse the essence of Buddhahood, their rich imagination came in to help them out by visualising it. When we try to explain Enlightenment logically, we always find ourselves involved in contradictions. But when an appeal is made to our symbolical imagination—especially if one is liberally endowed with this faculty—the matter is more readily comprehended. At least this seems to have been the Indian way of conceiving the signification of supernaturalism.

When Vimalakirti was asked by Śāriputra how such a small room as his with just one seat for himself could accommodate all the host of Bodhisattvas and Arhats and Devas numbering many thousands, who were coming there with Mañjuśrī to visit the sick philosopher, replied Vimalakirti, "Are you here to seek chairs or the Dharma?.... One who seeks the Dharma finds it in seeking it in nothing." Then learning from Mañjuśrī where to obtain seats, he asks a Buddha called Sumerudīparāja to supply him with 32,000 lion-seats, majestically decorated and as high as 84,000 *yojanas*. When they were brought in, his room, formerly large enough just for one seat, now miraculously accommodated all of them with all of the retinue of Mañjuśrī, and yet the whole town of Vaiśālī and the rest of the world did not appear on this account to be crammed up. Śāriputra was surprised beyond measure to witness this supernatural event, but Vimalakirti explained that for those who understand the doctrine of spiritual emancipation, even the Mount of Sumeru could be sealed up in a seed of mustard, and the waves of the four great oceans could be made to flow into one pore of the skin (*romakvpa*), without even giving any sense of inconvenience to any of the fishes, crocodiles, tortoises, and other living beings in them; the spiritual kingdom was not bound in space and time.

To quote another instance from the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra*. When King Rāvana was requesting the Buddha through the Bodhisattva Mahimati to disclose the content of his inner experience, the king unexpectedly noticed his mountainous residence turned into numberless mountains of precious stones and most ornately decorated with celestial grandeur, and on each of these mountains he saw the Buddha manifested. And before each Buddha there stood King Rāvana himself with all his assemblage as well as all the countries in the ten quarters of the world, and in each of those countries there appeared the Tathāgata, before whom again there were King Rāvana, his families, his palaces, his gardens, all decorated exactly in the same style as his own. There was also the Bodhisattva Mahāmati in each of these innumerable assemblies asking the Buddha to declare the content of his inner spiritual experience; and when the Buddha finished his discourse on the subject with hundreds of thousands of exquisite voices, the whole scene suddenly vanished, and the Buddha with all his Bodhisattvas and the followers of his were no more; then King Rāvana found himself all alone in his old palace. He now reflected: "Who was he that asked the question? Who was he that listened? What were those objects that appeared before me? Was it a dream? or a magical phenomenon?" He again reflected: "Things are all like this, they are all creations of one's own mind. When mind discriminates, there is manifoldness of things; but when it does not, it looks into the true state of things." When he thus reflected, he heard voices in the air and in his own palace, saying: "Well you have reflected, O King! You should conduct yourself according to this view."

I could quote many such incidents if it were further necessary for the establishment of my thesis that the reason for the introduction of supernaturalism into the Mahayana

literature of Buddhism was to demonstrate the intellectual impossibility of comprehending spiritual facts. Philosophy exhausted its resources logically to explain them, and Vimalakirti like Bhava, a Vedic mystic, remained silent, and the Indian Mahayana writers introduced supernaturalistic symbolism. It remained for the Chinese Zen Buddhists to invent their own methods according to their own needs and insight.

The Chinese have no aptitude to hide themselves in the clouds of mystery and supernaturalism. Chwang-tze and Lieh-tze were the nearest to the Indian type of mind in ancient China, but their mysticism does not begin to approach that of the Indian Mahayanists in grandeur, in elaborateness, and in the height of soaring imagination. Chwang-tze did his best when he rode up in the air on the back of the Taip'êng whose wings looked like overhanging clouds; and Lieh-tze when he could command winds and clouds as his charioteers. The later Taoists dreamed of ascending to the heavens after so many years of ascetic discipline and by taking an elixir of life concocted from various rare herbs. Thus in China we have so many Taoist hermits living in the mountains far away from human habitations. No Chinese saints or philosophers are recorded in history who have been capable of equaling Vimalakirti or Mañjuśrī, or even any of the Arhats. The Confucian verdict that superior man never talks about miracles, wonders, and supernaturalism, is the true expression of Chinese psychology. The Chinese are thoroughly practical. They must have their own way of interpreting the doctrine of Enlightenment as applied to their daily life. They could not help creating Zen as an expression of their inmost spiritual experience.

The inner sense of Enlightenment was not understood in China except intellectually in the earlier days of Buddhism. This was natural, seeing that it was in this respect that the

Chinese minds were excelled by the Indian. As I said before, the boldness and subtlety of Mahayana philosophy must have fairly stunned the Chinese, who had, before the introduction of Buddhism, practically no system of thought worthy of the name, except moral science. In this latter they were conscious of their own strength; even such devout Buddhists as I-tsing and Hsüan-t'sang acknowledged it, with all their ardour for the Yogācārya psychology and the Avatamsaka metaphysics, they thought that their country, as far as moral culture was concerned, was ahead of the land of their faith or at least had nothing to learn from the latter. As the Mahayana Sūtras and Śāstras were translated in rapid succession by able, learned, devout scholars, both native and Indian, the Chinese minds were led to explore a region where they had not ventured very far before. In the early Chinese biographical histories of Buddhism, we notice commentators, expounders, and philosophers far outnumbering translators and adepts in Dhyāna so called. The Buddhist scholars were at first quite busily engaged in assimilating intellectually the signification of the various doctrines expounded in Mahayana literature. Not only they were so deep and complicated but they were also so contradicting one another, at least on the surface. If they were to enter into the depths of Buddhist thought, they had to dispose of these entanglements somehow. But if they were sufficiently critical, they could do that with comparative ease, which was however something we could never expect of those earlier Buddhists; for even in these modern days critical Buddhist scholars will in some quarters be looked upon as not quite devout and orthodox. They all had not a shadow of doubt as to the genuineness of the Mahayanist texts as faithfully and literally recording the very words of the Buddha, and therefore they had to plan out some system of reconciliation between diverse doctrines taught in the Scriptures. This meant to find out what was the object of the Buddha's appearance

in the world ignorant, corrupted, and given up to the karma of eternal transmigration. Such efforts on the part of Buddhist philosophers developed what is to be distinctly designated as Chinese Buddhism.

While this intellectual assimilation was going on on the one hand, the practical side of Buddhism was also assiduously studied. There were followers of the Vinaya texts, and others devoted themselves to the mastery of Dhyāna. But what was here known as Dhyāna was not the Dhyāna of Zen Buddhism, it was a meditation, concentrating one's thought on some ideas such as impermanence, egolessness of things, chain of causation, or the attributes of the Buddha. Even Bodhi-Dharma, the founder of Zen Buddhism, was regarded by historians as belonging to this class of Dhyāna-adepts, his peculiar merits as teacher of an entirely novel school of Buddhism were not fully appreciated. This was inevitable, the people of China were not yet quite ready to accept the new form; for they had only inadequately grasped the doctrine of Enlightenment in all its bearings.

The importance of Enlightenment in its practical bearings, however, was not altogether overlooked in the maze of doctrinal intricacies. Chi-i (智顗), one of the founders of the T'ien Tai school, and the greatest Buddhist philosopher in China, was fully awake to the significance of Dhyāna as the means of attaining Enlightenment. With all his analytical powers, his speculation had room enough for the practice of Dhyāna. His work on "Tranquilisation and Contemplation" is explicit in this point. His idea was to carry out intellectual and spiritual exercises in perfect harmony, and not partially to emphasise either one of the two, Samādhi or Prajñā, at the expense of the other. Unfortunately, his followers grew more and more one-sided until they neglected the Dhyāna practice or the sake of intellection. Hence their antagonistic attitude

later on towards advocates of Zen Buddhism, for which however the latter were to a certain extent to be responsible, too.

It was due to Dharma that Zen came to be the Buddhism of China. It was he that started this movement which proved so fruitful among a people given up to the practical affairs of life. When he declared his message, it was still tinged with Indian colours, he could not be entirely independent of the traditional Buddhist metaphysics of the times. His allusion to the *Vajrasamādhi* and the *Lankavatāra* was natural, but the seeds of Zen were sown by his hands. It now remained with his native disciples to see to it that these seeds grew up in harmony with the soil and climate. It took more than two hundred years after Dharma for the Zen seeds to bear fruit, rich and vigorous in life, and fully naturalised while fully retaining the essence of what makes up Buddhism.

Some Japanese Buddhist scholars are inclined to find the first pioneers of Zen Buddhism among the philosophers of the Madhyamika school under the leadership of Kumārajīva and his immediate disciples; for they think there is something in Zen, especially in its expository writings, that makes one seek its source in the Śūnyatā metaphysics. But this view is based on a wrong understanding of Zen, according to which Zen is a philosophy and not a discipline leading to Enlightenment. While Zen most explicitly avows its independence of all metaphysical analysis and conceptual reasoning, the critics endeavour to look into its truths by means of concepts and abstractions, whereas this was the very method strongly condemned by the Zen followers. Their position from the very first was that the content of Enlightenment was to be grasped intuitively and not analytically, in fact, this was the *raison d'être* of their existence as a separate school of Buddhism.

Supposing for argument's sake that Dharma wished to build up his Zen philosophy on the Śūnyatā doctrine of the



Prajñāpāramitā school, he could do so by recommending its texts to his followers, as their Chinese translations were already in existence. But instead of doing that he recommended the *Lankāvatāra* as showing the way of Zen more directly than any other Mahayana writings. Why did he do so? In his own writing, he quoted from the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra* which can hardly be regarded as belonging to the Prajñāpāramitā class of Mahayana literature. In fact, if Dharma had any intention to base his Zen on the philosophy of Śūnyatā, the literature was quite handy, especially the *Vajracchedīka*, which came into vogue later on among the Zen students. Dharma's decided preference for the *Lankāvatāra* and the *Vajrasamādhi* leaves us no doubt as to the foundation of his Zen philosophy if there is at all such a thing.

On this ground, however, some critics may be inclined to deny Dharma's being the first real founder of Zen in China and would point to Hung-jên (弘忍) or Hui-nêng (慧能), that is, the Fifth or the Sixth Patriarch of the Zen sect in China as the originator of Zen Buddhism. But here is a great difficulty if this view is to be adopted as correct. For we have to ask, why did Hung-jên or Hui-nêng from which the *Vajracchedīka* evidently began to be regarded as important in the study of Zen, trace his doctrine straight back to Dharma instead of any other great Indian teacher who came to China to propagate Buddhism, or, as the founder of the T'ien-tai school did, directly to Nāgārjuna or Aśvaghosha? Unless there was some inner and necessary relation between Dharma and the later Zen representatives, the latter would never have thought of showing forth Dharma as their leader in China, when it was so easy to pick up any of the great Buddhist fathers either in China or in India. But this is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of the subject and I will defer it to a special article.



We may conclude now that Zen, in spite of the uncouthness of its external features, belongs to the general system of Buddhism. And by Buddhism we mean not only the teaching of the Buddha himself as recorded in the earliest Agamas, but the later speculations, philosophical and religious, concerning the person and life of the Buddha. His personal greatness was such as sometimes made his disciples advance theories somewhat contrary to the advice supposed to have been given by their Master. This was inevitable. The world with all its contents, individually as well as as a whole, is subject to our subjective interpretation, not a capricious interpretation indeed, but growing out of our inner necessity, our religious yearnings. Even the Buddha as an object of one's religious experience could not escape this, his personality was so constituted as to awaken in us every feeling and thought that goes under the name of Buddhism. The most significant and fruitful ideas that were provoked by him were concerned with his Enlightenment and Nirvāna. These two facts stood most prominently in his long peaceful life of seventy-nine years, and all the theories and beliefs that are bound up with the Buddha are attempts to understand these facts in terms of our own religious experience. Thus Buddhism has grown to have a much wider meaning than is understood by most critics.

The Buddha's Enlightenment and Nirvāna were two separate ideas in his life as it unfolded in history so many centuries ago, but from the religious point of view they are to be regarded as one idea. That is to say, when his Enlightenment is understood as to its content and value, the signification of Nirvāna is also realised. Taking a stand on this, the Mahayanists developed two currents of thought: the one was to rely on our intellectual efforts to the furthest extent they could reach, and the other, pursuing the practical method adopted by the Buddha himself, indeed by all Indian truth-seekers,

endeavoured to find in the practice of Dhyāna something directly leading to Enlightenment. It goes without saying that in both of these efforts the original impulse lies in the inmost religious consciousness of pious Buddhists.

The Mahayana texts compiled during a few centuries after the Buddha testify to the view here presented. Of these, the one expressly composed to propagate the teaching of the Zen school is the *Lankavatāra-sūtra*, in which the content of Enlightenment is, as far as words admit, presented from a psychological, philosophical, and a practical point of view. When this was introduced into China and thoroughly assimilated according to the Chinese method of thinking and feeling, the main thesis of the Sutra came to be demonstrated in such a way as is now considered characteristically Zen. The truth has many avenues of approach through which it makes itself known to the human mind. But the choice it makes depends on certain limitations under which it works. The superabundance of Indian imagination issued in supernaturalism and wonderful symbolism, and the Chinese sense of practicalness and its love for the solid everyday facts of life resulted in Zen Buddhism. We may now be able to understand, though only tentatively by most of readers at present, the following definition of Zen offered by its masters:

When Jōshu was asked what Zen was, he answered, "It is cloudy to-day and I won't answer."

To the same question, Ummon's reply was: "That's it." On another occasion the master was not at all affirmative, for he said, "Not a word to be predicated!"

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI

## DENGYŌ DAISHI AND GERMAN THEOLOGY

DENGYŌ Daishi (傳教大師), the great Reformer of the Heian Era, who carried the Chinese school of Tendai to Japan and gave it a home on Mt. Hiei; Dengyō Daishi, the protégé of the Emperor Kwammu and friend of Kōbō Daishi; Dengyō Daishi who opposed the Nara Priests, fought the principles of the Hossō sect, and taught the identity of Śākyamuni, Yakushi Nyorai, and Amida—what has this Dengyō, the eleven hundredth anniversary of whose death we have just celebrated, to do with German theology?

Their association seems arbitrary and paradoxical, yet it may not be so forced as it appears at first glance.

When we speak here of German theology, we think immediately of the *Theologia Germanica* of the anonymous Frankfort Knight of the Teutonic Order, the famous work which constituted a landmark in the Christian theology of the dying fourteenth century, and which was brought out in modern form in 1907 under the title, *Das Büchlein vom vollkommenen Leben* (*The Book of Perfect Life*). But those theologians also, Master Eckhart, Tauler, and Suso, who were intellectually akin to the Frankforter, are understood here to be representative of German theology. We must also include Martin Luther, who published the *Theologia Germanica* in 1516 under the title, *Ein deutsch Theologia*, and who wrote in the preface to this Frankforter's work: "This noble book, poor and rude though it be in words and human wisdom, is so much the more precious in its art and divine wisdom. And I will say, though it be boasting of myself and 'I speak as a fool', that next to the Bible and St. Augustine, no book hath ever come into my hands, whence I have learnt, or would wish to learn more of what God, and Christ, and man

and all things are." We may also reckon Jakob Böhme in with them, as well as every other German theologian who understood Christianity in a form apart from the formalistic church doctrines, and who understood it in the deeper manner which was peculiar to the men mentioned above.

All these divines—and Luther was surely one of them before he lost himself again in a net of dogmas—have this in common with Dengyō Daishi: they are mystics. They all believed in the comprehension of the supersensible, the divine, the transcendental, not through the senses, nor through reason, but through their own inner experience, through direct intellectual intuition, contemplation, and perceptual experience in a state of ecstasy. They all believed that they were able to partake of the union with the Divine Being—the "unio mystica"—in an inconceivable, mystical manner by means of absorption in the depths of their own soul. As for that which especially concerns the founder of the Tendai sect, his teaching, so far as its practical side is taken into consideration, is built upon the most profound mystic system that Buddhism has ever called forth, the *Maka Shikwan* (摩訶止觀), or the "Great Meditation," of Chisha Daishi (智者大師), the founder of the Chinese Tendai sect. Dengyō Daishi, however, made his foundation still broader by including the mysticism of the Shingon and Zen schools, so that one might well say that the mystical element was never so strongly emphasised by the founder of any sect of Mahayana Buddhism as it was by Dengyō Daishi.

There are a great number of very eminent and deserving scholars—we refer here to the Western scholars only—who have not been able to see the slightest trace of mysticism in Buddhism. Some define Buddhism as a "rationalistic atheism"; others as a "practical system of morals"; while those of the third group see in the teachings of the Buddha an astronomy in pictures. These scholars cannot see the forest for the trees;

they are so thoroughly philologists that they cannot grasp theological problems. It is only recently that a few isolated Western scholars have been aware of the mystical base of Buddhism. But scarcely does the road to an unbiassed conception of Buddhist principles seem clear when another turnpike is raised, for these scholars conclude: Buddhism may be mysticism, but it is absolutely different from Christian mysticism; for Buddhism postulates (as all Oriental mysticism does) the total annihilation, the consummate absorption of the individual soul in the Infinite, whilst the European mystics seek instead of the suppression of the individual soul-life a greater intensity of it. According to these theoreticians, the foundation of Christian mysticism is positive and active, whilst that of Oriental (especially, Buddhist) mysticism is negative and passive.

If this characterisation does not prove entirely true even for *Hinayana*, in so far as it categorically denies the existence of an individual soul, the *ātman*, how much less does it apply to *Mahayana* Buddhism. How little negative and passive *Mahayana* is, is conclusively shown by *Tendai* Buddhism which was represented by *Dengyō Daishi*.

The *Tendai* philosophy is built upon the teachings of *Nāgārjuna*, whose "Eight Noes" are sufficiently known. They are:

"Without origin, also without end;  
Not eternal, nor yet cut short;  
Not one, and not many;  
Without coming, as without going."

Such a definition of the Absolute seems to be purest nihilism, but it is not more nihilism than when *Jakob Böhme* says of *Eternal Love*: "It cannot, therefore, be compared with anything, for it is deeper than the I; it is, therefore, in all things as a Nothing, because it is not conceivable. And since it is Nothing, it is free from all things, and is the sole

Good, so that one may not declare what it is." That the Perfect is Nothing is clearly expressed in the *Theologia Germanica* also. There we read: "The things which are in part can be apprehended, known, and expressed; but the Perfect cannot be apprehended, known, or expressed by any creature as creature. Therefore, the Perfect is called Nothing: not being of the same kind, the creature as creature cannot know nor apprehend it, name nor conceive it."

If one, nevertheless, sees only nihilism in the negative formulation of Nāgārjuna's *Chū Ron* (中論), or *Madhyamika Śāstra*, which begins with the "Eight Noes," point out to him that Dengyō Daishi's Tendai philosophy depends not so much upon the *Madhyamika Śāstra* as upon the *Dai Chi Do Ron* (大智度論), or Mahāprajñā-Pāramitā-Śāstra, which also is ascribed to Nāgārjuna and states clearly that back of the negative formulation of the Absolute, the Positive in its highest power is hidden.

This second śāstra is of all the writings the most characteristic of the philosophical content of the Tendai doctrine. Its religious content is best expressed in the *Hokkekyō* (法華經), or *Saddharma-Pundarīka-Sūtra*, which teaches that all living creatures without distinction possess the Buddha-nature (佛性). The use which the *Hokkekyō* makes of the word "Buddha" is not less free than the use which the *Theologia Germanica* and kindred mysticism makes of the word "God" or "Christ." Both books understand by these words, the "Perfect," the "One," the "Truth," the "Highest Good." "Good," says the Frankforter, "need not first come into the soul; it is already there as yet unrecognised,"—and he expresses a conviction there which may be considered the fundamental principle of the *Hokkekyō*.

Dengyō Daishi defended most energetically this central truth of the *Hokkekyō*, that all creatures without distinction possess the Buddha-nature, against the Hossō (法相) priests



who clung to the doctrine of Five Natures (五性) and who asserted that only the creatures who had the Bodhisattva-nature and so-called undetermined nature (不定性) could become Buddha, whilst those endowed with human and deva nature, with śrāvaka-nature, and Pratyeka-Buddha-nature were excluded from Buddhahood for eternity.

This is not the place to go into this controversy, so rich in dialectical snares, between Dengyō Daishi and the Nara priests—at the bottom of it on one side lies the belief in the absolute dissimilarity of human talents and the moral forces which fill the universe; on the other side the belief in the fundamental unity of the universe and the nature of all creatures.

In this latter comprehension Dengyo Daishi is at one with Christian mysticism, which proceeds from the hypothesis: "God reposes in all things, since He gave Himself to all," and which gives rise to the claim: "Man must redeem Him—God—by creating!"

There is a great deal in the *Theologia Germanica* about the "Godlike man." It says among other things: "Love in a Godlike man is pure, untinged, and of good will. Therefore, all things, animate and inanimate, human and infra-human, must be loved there, and only good wished and done to all. Let one do to a Godlike man whatever one will, good or evil, to please or to aggrieve; nay, if some one should kill him a hundred times and he should return to life, he would be obliged to love the person who had killed him and who had done him so much injustice and evil; he should be intent upon his welfare only and do for him the very best he can provided only that the other party will accept such kindness. Behold, where such a Godlike man is, there is the best, the most noble, and to God the most appropriate life that there can be.... And should the same man die a thousand deaths, every misfortune fall upon him which may befall a creature, yet would he rather suffer all that than to be deprived of this

noble life. And if he could exchange his life for that of an angel, not even then would he trade!"

Now this conception of the Godlike man corresponds, word for word, to the conception of the Bosatsu (Bodhisattva) which Dengyō Daishi, relying upon the *Hokkekyō* and the *Bonmokyō* (*Brahmajāla Sūtra*), represented. It is the duty of the Bosatsu to release the God in man through works. And every one who dedicates himself to the task, is, according to Dengyō Daishi, a Bosatsu, even if the talents of the individuals—he distinguishes fifty-two different stages of Bodhisattvahood—differ according to their rank. If the Mahayana doctrine, as it existed in Japan before Dengyō Daishi—the so-called elementary or provisional Mahayana Buddhism—had recognised the existence of priestly Bosatsus only, Dengyō Daishi went a step further and added the lay Bosatsus to those who made up the priesthood. "Every one [that is, every true Mahayana believer] is a Bosatsu,"—is the basic principle of Dengyō. This principle may be compared with the conception of general priesthood entertained by Martin Luther. And according to the Frankforter, the possession of Perfect Life and not sacerdotalism or monasticism makes one an "Imitator" and "Servant" of Christ.

Dengyō's disciples, the Tendai priests, in particular, were supposed to regard themselves as Bosatsus, and to labour as Bosatsus by placing their whole strength in the service of the State, which was understood to be the moral community based on the family, and as such, an incorporation of Universal and Eternal Truth. In accordance herewith, Dengyō divided the students of Tendai into three groups: (1) Those who distinguished themselves by singular virtue and eloquence should remain living on Mt. Hiei at the conclusion of their twelve years of study, become leaders of all the others, and be titled "Kokuho" (國寶), or "Treasure of the State"; (2) Those who were possessed of great eloquence, but who had not



distinguished themselves by any unusual virtues, should be "Kokushi" (國師), or "Teachers of the State"; (3) whilst those who had distinguished themselves by their virtues, but who had not the gift of eloquence, should be called "Kokuyo" (國用), or "Assets of the State." The Kokushi and Kokuyo were made "Dempo" (傳法) and provincial "Kōshi" (講師) by governmental charter. The Dempo, or the "Deliverers of Religion," had their residence for the most part in the large temples of Nara and Kyōto; the Kōshi, on the other hand, were lecturers who were on duty from four to six years in the various State (*Kokubun*) temples of the provinces. Here in the annual rest-period (*Ango*, 安居) of ninety days which corresponds to the Indian "Vassa," or rainy season, and which lasted from the sixteenth day of the fourth month to the fifteenth day of the seventh month, they recited and explained the sūtras and śāstras before the congregation, according to the ancient custom. The laymen would prove their appreciation of this work by giving all kinds of presents.

In the regulation which contain the foregoing provisions, Dengyō recommends the collection of the gifts to the lecturers in the warehouse of the provincial governors, their careful auditing, and use for the public welfare; as for the improvement of pools and ditches which serve to irrigate the ricefields, the cultivation of unproductive fields (which had either been laid waste through flooding, or which had never yet been made arable), the re-terracing of worn-down terrain, the building of bridges and ships, the setting-out of trees (especially fruit-trees), the cultivation of hemp and useful grasses, the deepening of springs, and for all other things which conduce to the well-being of the province and of the individual, including the reciting of sūtras and the "edification of the human mind." Yet these gifts of the congregation were never to be used for agricultural and commercial enterprises, that is, the collective capital was not to be lent out at interest for purposes of gain.

The tendency to be of service to the State, that is, to the group, was emphasised in this regulation of the Tendai sect by Dengyō in a manner which is without precedent in ancient Indian, and even in Chinese Buddhism. So strongly did Dengyō Daishi consider "care for the State" as the chief task of the Tendai priests that he wished to see his whole religion made the state religion. "O make this the state religion!" he prayed at the grave of Shotoku Taishi, he who was looked upon as Shotoku Taishi reincarnated.

What is, then, this concern for the State (that is, for the good of his compatriots), if not the fundamental principle of "viriliter agite!"—of "manly conduct"—which we find so much stressed in the *Theologia Germanica*? Is it not the affirmation of life in the highest sense?—even though Ignorance has said of the German mystics and the Buddhists without distinction that they fled into the deserts to escape life.

The founder of the Tendai sect as well as the *German Theology* demand activity in the most forcible manner for the good of all. They are both, nevertheless, as one in rejecting outward piety [piety of works]; both believe in a sudden and complete conversion without the accumulation of merit; both repudiate the ceremonial law which had formerly been deemed binding by the representatives of their religion. Luther exclaims: "Your cowl, your shaven head, your celibacy, your obedience, your poverty, your works, and your merit, of what use shall they be to you? Of what avail is the Mosaic Law?"—and in the third month of the year 818, Dengyō Daishi makes a declaration which is not less memorable: "Henceforth I will never accept the merits of a Shōmon (Śrāvaka), and will always turn my back upon the Hinayana ceremonies. I swear that I will repudiate the two hundred and fifty precepts."

Even Chisha Daishi, the great Founder of the Chinese Tendai, whom a later age will learn to honour as the Chinese Plotinus, adhered at least formally to the Hinayanistic Moral

Law (Vinaya) of two hundred and fifty articles, and represented a combined Hinayana-Mahayana Code. The great service of Dengyō in the field of ethics was that he threw completely overboard the Hinayana Law as obligatory for all Buddhist priests, and recognised only the pure Mahayana Law, namely: the Ten Greater and the Forty-eight Lesser Precepts of the *Bonmokyō* (梵網經). It was not that man should merit salvation through the keeping of these precepts; the keeping of the precepts had rather the psychological meaning of preparing the soul for the highest life by annihilating the opposition of the flesh, by breaking self-will, and by bringing about that state of "willingness" and "resignation" which is prerequisite to the "union mystica." The remainder of the moral actions which Dengyō Daishi retained in his ethical system, by obliging his disciples to keep the 58 commandments of the Bonmo Sutra, should serve solely for purification, which must be accomplished before the spirit can be disclosed for meeting and union with the Divine. When this union had been consummated, the keeping of the precepts followed naturally. For the Godlike man is necessarily a moral man. Morality (called *kai*, 戒, or *śīla*) was, then, not something which existed as a thing in itself, but stood in the closest relationship with contemplation (*jō*, 定, or *dhyāna*) and the transcendental wisdom (*e*, 慧, or *prajñā*) which resulted from it. As a matter of fact, the keeping of the precepts was considered to follow the mystical absorption and the enlightenment connected therewith. The "inner" man united with the Tathāgata kept all precepts necessarily and spontaneously, in Dengyō's opinion.

We see once more that there was the closest agreement between the Founder of the Tendai sect and the author of the *Theologia Germanica*, who says: "One must never forget, however, that God's commandments, counsels, and all His teachings refer only to the Inner Man, as he is united with

God. Where this occurs, the outer man will be sufficiently directed and taught by the Inner Man, so that one does not need any outer commandments and teachings."—"All that is sound and good," we read in another place, "even the Good which is God Himself, will never make man virtuous, good, or blissful so long as it is something extrinsic to the soul, and likewise with sin and evil." And in a third place we read: "Eternal Bliss does not rest with the Many nor with Diversity, but with the One and with Unity." That sounds as if Dengyō himself had said it, just as the words which the Frankforter quotes from St. Paul are congenial to him: "Those who are directed, penetrated and guided by God's spirit, are children of God and do not stand under the Law."

The intellectual kinship of Martin Luther, the Founder of German Protestantism, and Shinran Shōnin, the Founder of Japanese Protestantism, has been pointed out many times. Here lies the parallelism in the clear light of day. Perhaps these lines may tend to make clear the less widely known connection which exists between the German mystics as the precursors of the German Reformation, and Dengyō Daishi, who, on his side, constituted the bridge which led to Shinran Shōnin and the Japanese Reformation of the thirteenth century.

BRUNO PETZOLD

## VIMALAKIRTI'S DISCOURSE ON EMANCIPATION

### INTRODUCTION

THIS is an English translation of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* (Nanjiō 146), being the first attempt \* to introduce the text to Western readers. Strangely, no one has so far tried to translate it into any of the European languages—a book so full of interest in various ways and so largely contributing to the foundations of Oriental philosophy and religion.

The Sutra was probably first composed in Sanskrit or in some Indian dialect much earlier than the time of Nāgārjuna, which was in the second century A.D.; for it is frequently quoted by him in his commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (Nanjiō 1169). But how much earlier it was composed we have no means to ascertain; but there is no doubt that the compilation took place some centuries before Nāgārjuna, because it requires some considerable time for a Sutra to grow worthy of being quoted as a sacred authority.

King Asoka, a patron of Buddhism, who flourished in the third century B.C. and who was a great propagator of the faith throughout India even beyond the northern frontiers, over the Himalayan ranges, never mentions this Sutra; nor

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\* I did not know when I wrote these lines that an English translation by Mr. Kakichi Ōhara appeared in the *Hansei-Zasshi* for 1898-99, which is now extremely difficult to obtain. I have had so far no opportunity to read it, but the translator, I am told, was a young and sincere Buddhist who unfortunately died prematurely some fifteen years ago. Some passages from this Sutra are also translated in the *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism*, London, 1907, by Prof. D. T. Suzuki, to which I have referred in the text. In any way, my translation, which was done quite independently, may be judged on its own merits.

does King Kanishka of the first century A. D. But there is no reason why we should deny the existence of the *Vimalakīrti* in those days simply from this fact, because there are in this Sutra remarkable characteristics which are quite different from those recognised as orthodox by these kings; for it is quite likely that they would ignore the canons of the other sects though such might have already been in actual existence.

We may however say, with some hesitation, that this Sutra existed already in the thought of lay-Buddhists, not in the circle of the monastic orthodoxy, at the times of these kings, to whom it seems to have remained quite unknown.

I now propose to point out what are some of the outstanding characteristics of the Sutra, which distinguish themselves from those of the Buddhist doctrine known to those kings.

(1) We see in this Sutra very frequently a phrase "the skilful means" \*; the full original meaning of which is difficult to reproduce in English except by this literal rendering, so dry and altogether inadequate. But this is to be made to include every legitimate practice issuing from a perfectly religious life. From the first chapter to the last we often meet also with a supernatural power which a Bodhisattva or a Buddha exercises. What does this supernatural power mean? It has no meaning by itself. If it had any at all it would be merely to please the ignorant and childish people, which is absurd and ridiculous in such a serious literature. The supernatural power exercised by the principal figures in this Sutra, is an indispensable expedient for leading beings to the realisation of the highest truth. The Mahayanistic ideals of a Bodhisattva are to sacrifice his own selfish happiness for a greater cause, and his efforts are concentrated in this self-sacrifice. He does not even extirpate his passions, quite

\* *Upāya-kāuśalya* in Sanskrit. *Upāya* means "coming near," "approach," "a means," or "expedient," and *Kāuśalya*, "cleverness," "skilfulness," or "expediency"; they are rendered in Chinese 善巧方便.

contrary to the ideal of the Hinayanists; for otherwise he could not feel any sympathy with the lower beings suffering from passions and deliver them from pain. He incarnates himself in any being, even in a medical herb (Chapter VIII) in order to save all beings and lead them to the higher stage of religious life. These sacrificial deeds are never or hardly known in the doctrine of the Hinayana.

(2) The Six Pāramitās, being the preliminary means for attaining Buddhahood, are never sought by the Hinayanists whose final goal is to become an Arhat; but in the present Sūtra most strongly emphasised are these Pāramitās. In fact they are one of the signs distinguishing Mahayana from Hinayana. Charity, discipline, patience, diligence, meditation, and wisdom which are repeatedly taught in the text, form the highest standard of the religious life of a Bodhisattva. And we may take them as the standard ethical teachings even when they are interpreted in the modern sense.

(3) The great mercy and compassion towards all beings is most highly recommended in this Sūtra. They are cherished only by a Bodhisattva, who belongs to the Mahayana; but no Śrāvaka or Pratyeka-Buddha can cherish it inasmuch as he belongs to the Hinayana. A Śrāvaka or a Pratyeka-Buddha acts only for himself, not for others; his Nirvāna is a complete extinction which is the final goal to his life. But a Bodhisattva does not enter into Nirvāna for the sake of beings who suffer in this life, and whose salvation is his sole duty.

(4) Lastly, frequently this Sūtra makes reference to a certain mental outlook in which attachment finds no place. This state is beyond either words or thought (Chapter IX, etc.). In fact even the Hinayana speaks of freeing oneself from attachment, but to cling to a state of non-attachment is still an attachment, which is always condemned in this Sūtra. True non-attachment is absolute, it is not only free from all forms of attachment but free from non-attachment itself. Here is an absolute



freedom of the Bodhisattva in all his life-activities, and this is what has never been known to the Hinayanists.

All these characteristics above mentioned, which are never found in Hinayana Buddhism are products of "the Supreme Enlightenment" which is designated by the Mahayanists as "Anuttara-samyak-saṃbodhi"; and to cherish the thought which will lead to this enlightenment is the first step to be taken by all Mahayanists.

On the whole, what is most emphatically insisted upon in the Sutra before us is the practising of the life of a Bodhisattva as against that of a Śrāvaka or a Pratyeka-Buddha, that is to say, the Mahayana is strongly upheld against the Hinayana; the religion of laymen against the ascetic life of the monastery. The Fourfold Noble Truth, the Twelve Chains of Causation, and the Eightfold Right Path, which are found everywhere in the Buddhist teaching as preached in Ceylon or Burma, disappear in this Sutra, or at least they are presented in different forms, and in their place are taught the Fourfold Acceptance\* (*Samgraha*), the Ten Pāramitās, and the Thirty-Seven Requisites (*bodhipākaśhikā*) for Attaining Supreme Enlightenment. We can also point out how the human Gautama gradually gives way to a superhuman Buddha, who in turn assumes many forms—not as historical Buddhas who are said to have preceded Gautama Buddha, but as manifestations of the eternal truth (Chapter III). It is always the way with the Mahayana Sutra that an exceedingly long list of Buddhas is given, and that finally their number grows so enormously large—millions, trillions, or even equal to the sands of the Gaṅgā—that the individual naming is now quite impossible.

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\* "Acceptance" is not a good word for *Samgraha*, which primarily means "seizing," or "holding." In this case, it is to accept or receive kindly, or to have good understanding, and four modes of it are enumerated by Buddhists: 1. giving, 2. speaking kindly, 3. beneficent deeds, and 4. impartiality.



It shows how Buddhism developed in its ontology from the historical conception of one teacher to that of the Highest Being.

One thing however we should not overlook here, is that this Sutra has contributed much to the popularisation of Buddhism. We can imagine how, at the time of its appearance, the monks became corrupted, since they hid themselves behind the walls of their monastery, lost the influence and power which, owing to the virtue planted by the Buddha, they had exercised over the outside world. The lay-brothers of Buddhism were quite dissatisfied with this inactivity of the priests, and united themselves to take the scepter away from the monks now powerless in the propagation of a living faith. Religion ought not to be made the monopoly of the priests, but the possession of all who seek in earnest, either monks or laymen.

As the *Vimalakīrti* is a production of such a movement as started by the laity, Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, and Mahākāśyapa, who have always been considered the great disciples of Śākyamuni and the leaders of the priesthood, are now treated in this Sutra as miserable ignoramuses destitute of supernatural powers, which fact they themselves confess either by compulsion or on their own account.

It is due to this influence of the movement of the laity that, in Japan, Shōtoku Umayado (574-622), the crown prince of the Emperor Yōmei, who was a great patron of Buddhism, thought himself to be a Vimalakīrti, and wrote a commentary on this Sutra. He was never ordained as priest but did far more than a professional priest in propagating Buddhism in Japan, and even now many a layman following the example of this devout prince-Buddhist, takes pleasure in reading this Sutra above all others.

Besides, I wish to remind one fact in this connection, that in the history of Japan, there was a ceremony called the

Yuima-e, which was performed by order of the Imperial Court during certain periods of the Nara and the Heian reign. This was the ceremony of reciting the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-Sūtra*, Yuima being the Japanese pronunciation of Vimalakīrti. With reference to the origin of the ceremony, we are told that in the third year of the Empress Saimyō (A.D. 655-661) the chief minister Kamatari became ill, and Hōmyō, a nun who had come from Korea, persuaded the Empress to recite this Sutra for the recovery of the sick minister, saying that the Discourse originated in the sickness of Vimalakīrti and its recitation would be efficacious in the present case. The Empress, therefore, commanded this to be done, and Kamatari was restored to health even before the recitation was over. Then he as an act of gratitude began the ceremony of reciting the *Vimalakīrti* in the temple which he had erected as a thanksgiving offer to the Buddha. Since that time this became one of the chief ceremonies to be performed annually by order of the Court.

The Sanskrit text was lost a long time ago, and there is very little hope of discovering it; therefore the Chinese translations which were made directly from the original should be taken as the texts for a translation just as I have done now here. Fortunately the style is so simple that we can without much difficulty see through the Chinese texts what the original might have been, and to some extent we can reconstruct the original with ease.

The earliest Chinese translation was done in A. D. 188 by Yen-fo-tiao, 嚴佛調, of the Later Han dynasty, 漢, A. D. 25-220. It was called *Wei-Mo-Ching*, 維摩經, (in two volumes). But this is lost.

(2) The next translation in two volumes was done under the title, *Wei-Mo-Chieh-Ching*, 維摩詰經, by Chih-chien, 支謙, a layman of Wu dynasty, 吳, A. D. 222-280. This is extant.

(3) (4) The next two translations were produced during the Western Ts'in dynasty, 西晉, A. D. 265-316; one by Chu-shu-lan, 竺叔蘭, and the other by Dharmaraksha, 法護; they are in three volumes, respectively known as *Wei-Mo-la-chieh-ching*, 毘摩羅詰經, and *Wei-mo-chieh-so-shou-fa-men-ching*, 維摩詰所說法門經; but they are both lost.

When this latter translation of Dharmaraksha's was made, a compilation of these three translations mentioned above was done by Chih-min-tu, 支敏度; but it was also lost.

(5) In the Eastern Ts'in dynasty, 東晉, A. D. 317-420, it was also translated by Gitamitra, 祇多密, in four volumes under the title *Wei-mo-ching*, 維摩經, but it was also lost.

(6) The sixth translation came from the pen of Kumārajīva in three volumes, A. D. 406. This is the one most widely read and studied, and forms the text for the present English translation, while I did not neglect consulting the other translations wherever necessary.

(7) The seventh and the last translation in China is by Hsüan T'sang, 玄奘, of the T'ang dynasty, 唐, A. D. 618-907, entitled *Shuo-wu-kou-ch'êng-ching*, 說無垢稱經, in six volumes, still extant.

There is a Tibetan translation entitled as *Dri-ma-med-par-grags-pas-lstan-pa*, which is found in the fourteenth volume of the Sutra Collection designated as "Pha." Generally it agrees with the Chinese translations.

There was also a Kotanese translation, the fragments of which consisting of two folios are found in the Stein collections. They are said to be the beginning of the first chapter of this Sutra representing some stanzas therein. This identification was done by Prof. Leumann and Dr. Kaikyoku Watanabe. (*ZDMG*, XXII, for 1908.)

There are many commentators of this famous Sutra, and each of them strives to explain the text from the standpoint

of his own sect. Among them we mention the following:

- (1) *Chu-wei-mo*, 註維摩, (ten volumes) commentated by the translator Kumārajīva himself and his favourite disciples.
- (2) *I-su*, 義疏, (six volumes);
- (3) *Lüeh-su*, 略疏, (five volumes);
- (4) *Ching-ming Hsüan-lun*, 淨名玄論, (eight volumes);
- (5) *Yui-i*, 遊意.

The above works are by Chi-t'sang, 吉藏, of Sanron, 三論, sect.

- (6) *Kuang-su*, 廣疏, by Chi-i, 智愷, (twenty-eight volumes);
- (7) *Hsüan-i*, 玄義, by the same (six volumes);
- (8) *Lüeh-su*, 略疏, by Chan-jan, 湛然, (ten volumes);
- (9) *Su-chi*, 疏記, by the same, (three volumes).

These are from the standpoint of the Tendai, 天台, sect.

- (10) *Shuo-wu-kou-ch'êng-ching-tsan*, 說無垢稱經贊, by K'uei-chi, 窺基, (six volumes). K'uei-chi was one of the favourite pupils of Hsüan T'sang, and accordingly his commentary was done on the newly translated text of his master's from the standpoint of the Hossō sect. It is the only commentary left to us on Hsüan T'sang's text.

Later on in the Sung, 宋, and the Ming, 明, dynasty we have:

- (11) *Wu-wo-su*, 無我疏, by Ch'uan-têng, 傳燈, (twelve volumes),
- (12) *Ping-chu*, 評註, by Yang-ch'ih-yüan, 楊起元, (fourteen volumes).

In Japan, Umayado, 廐戸皇子, the crown prince to the Emperor Yomei, wrote a commentary. It is called,

- (13) *Yuimakyō-gisho*, 維摩經義疏, in three volumes.

Gyōnen, 凝然, A. D. 1240-1321, a famous priest, wrote a commentary on this Umayado's commentary. It is entitled,

- (14) *Yuimakyō-sho-anraki*, 維摩經疏菴羅記, (forty volumes).

Hōtan, 鳳潭, A.D. 1654-1738, another learned priest, writes a commentary on Kumārajīva's commentary designated as

(15) *Hotsumōshō*, 發蒙抄, (five volumes).

This list by no means exhausts all the commentaries that are still in existence.

I have referred already to Nāgārjuna who quoted this Sutra frequently in his work; and other scholars such as Bhāvaviveka, Candrakīrti, and Dharmakīrti also very often quote this Sutra in their commentaries on *Madhyamaka Śāstras*.

There is a book called the *Śikshāsamuccaya* by Śāntideva of the eleventh century, a compendium of the earlier Buddhist Mahayana Sutras, edited by Professor C. Bendall in the "Bibliotheca Buddhica," Vol. I. Petrograd, 1897. It contains a few passages from this Sutra in the original Sanskrit form. As they are scattered throughout the *Śikshāsamuccaya*, they are all collected in the appendix for a review. They show how little they differ from the corresponding passages in my translation. This fact may help us to decide upon the degree of accuracy attained by the Chinese translator as regards the text in general. Recently Professor Rouse published the translation of the *Śikshāsamuccaya* in London, 1922; The corresponding passages are also referred to in the following translation.

HOKEI IDUMI

## IN BUDDHIST TEMPLES

### IV. CHION-IN (知恩院)

CHION-IN is approached through a great *Sammon* (山門), one of those huge gates which stand sentinel before many Buddhist temples. Chion-in's *summon*, eighty feet high, is one of the three largest in Japan. Its solidity and strength make one think of the days when Buddhism was a power and when great temples in the Buddha's honour were erected throughout the land.

Chion-in is a temple belonging to the Jōdo sect, situated on the eastern hills of Kyoto. It was founded in 1211 A. D. by Hōnen Shōnin and it was here that he died. Fire played havoc with Chion-in as with many other splendid temples in Japan, and the buildings were twice destroyed. The Tokugawa Shōguns were friends of the Jōdo sect, and first by the Shōgun Ieyasu, and later by his grandson Iemitsu was Chion-in rebuilt: in its present form, the temple is due to Iemitsu and here his memory is revered.

Beautiful indeed is this Chion-in amidst the great cryptomeria and pine trees. The temple grounds are quiet and attractive, and while roaming around them, one can get a backward glimpse into the ancient world and pause for a time, gazing.

Up the steep steps—and we can enter the compound and come to the Hondo (main hall), one of the largest temple buildings in Kyoto. The curving black-tiled roof rests on red porches over a complicated beam foundation; at the roof corners are bronze wind-bells which tinkle in the breeze. If you look up at the porch with sharp eyes, you may be able to see a wire screen protecting an umbrella. This umbrella is said to have flown here from a boy, really the God Inari in disguise, in order to protect the abbot who was conducting an outdoor

service when rain began to fall. The umbrella was left and is called the *wasure-gasa*, the forgotten umbrella, and is now considered as a charm to protect the temple from fire.

The interior of the Hondo is very richly ornamented. At the altar which is dedicated to Hōnen Shōnin and in the shape of a shrine heavily gilded, there are masses of golden ornaments. Before the altar and under a rich canopy of hanging gilded ornamentation, is the seat of the abbot. The golden lotus ornaments before the altar are twenty feet high and large pine trees are growing not in earth but in water vases. The swinging golden ornaments give a most lovely effect to this rich altar. The four great *keyaki*-wood pillars which support the roof are gilded and look sumptuous. In fact this altar and its fittings give an effect of a palace shrine, but let it be here remembered that these regal-like ornaments were given not by princes or kings but by devotees of the temple in 1911 on the seven hundredth anniversary of the founding of the temple. On one side of the altar are memorial tablets or *ihais* of the Tokugawa family.

Passing from the main altar room, we come to the Shuei-do, a large apartment where there is an Amida enshrined, supported on each side by the Bodhisattvas Seishi and Kwanon. There is another altar with Amida and sitting in front of him as if on guard is a life-sized statue of Monju. He is clad in priest's robes and is most impressive, his face bearing a beautiful and calm expression. I paused for some time before him and returned again striving to get from that sculptured calm some reflection for myself. This is one of the most interesting images of Monju which I have ever seen, so life-like and represented not as a holy Bodhisattva but as a wise priest. Monju or Mañjuśrī, as is well known, is the Bodhisattva of Wisdom, especially of religious wisdom or insight. It is he who is supposed to have written the *Saddharma-Pundarika*, the Lotus of the Good Law. He is



represented alone or on the left of the Buddha and often sits upon a roaring lion which typifies the voice of the Law. When seated thus, he is opposite Fugen, the god of Love seated upon an elephant. In Monju's right hand he holds the sword of knowledge, and in his left the book of sacred knowledge, but sometimes instead of this book he has a jewel. In Zen monasteries his image sometimes sits at the head of the meditation hall, symbol of that inner spiritual wisdom which is the goal of Zen monks. When Hōnen Shōnin as a boy of thirteen was sent by his temple superiors to study at Enryakuji on Mt. Hiei, the letter of introduction which he bore to the abbot read; "I am sending you a miniature of Mañjuśrī." The boy Seishimaru, as he was called then, seemed already so wise and so saintly that the head-priests of his temple felt that he must be an incarnation of Mañjuśrī, the God of Wisdom.

The hall for the worship of Amida is connected by a covered corridor with the main temple. It is a two-storied building so graceful in design that it has almost a pagoda-like effect. The porch is covered with handsome wood-carvings, and two splendid water basins in the form of lotus leaves stand at the side of the steps. In the hall the great gilded Buddha Amida is enthroned upon a golden lotus flower beneath a glittering array of hanging ornamentation. He has a kind and gentle expression which is heightened by his great size and brilliant rich golden hue. Many of his devotees did I see kneeling reverently before him intoning over and over the holy phrase "Namu Amida Butsu."

The Goten or Palace apartments built by Iemitsu adjoin the main temple buildings, and as we pass along the corridor a peculiar musical sound is emitted from the planks, which is supposed to resemble the song of the nightingale, so these floors are called nightingale floors and are found also at some other temples.



In 1609, Prince Hachi-no-miya, son of the Emperor Goyōzei, entered the temple under the name of Chion-in-no-miya Monzeki, this latter title being the one that was given to the sons of emperors who became priests. Later, he was ordained as Ryōjun-Ho-Shinno and lived for many years at Chion-in. The decoration of these rooms are fine expositions of classic Japanese art of the Kano school. The rooms are bare, but the sliding screens and wooden doors are decorated with paintings, many of which are unfortunately very faded. The rooms are all named according to the chief decorative designs—plum, stork, pine-tree, chrysanthemum, willow, etc. There is a famous picture here—the celebrated “*nuke-suzume*.” The painter put the spirit of the sparrow into the picture and after a time, it flew away out of the screen leaving only its outline behind. On the verandah are to be seen some wooden doors painted with pine-trees now much faded, but which are thought to be so life-like that in the spring they exude resin. On another sliding door is a sleeping cat, and it is said that if one is very quiet, one can hear her purr, so naturally has the artist depicted her.

There are many beautiful paintings on the sliding screens or *fusuma*, and one of the finest in the fifth room painted by Kano Naonobu is the “*Konoma Fuji*.” Garrett Chatfield Piers writes most enthusiastically of it and I can do no better than to quote him. “The composition leaves nothing to be desired, as the design fills in the alcove with all an Egyptian’s feeling for spacing. The noble sweep of Fuji’s towering outline soars into and above, high above one of these cloud diadems which are seen so often about the lower stretches of her snow fields. The long stretches of valley and field that fill the middle distance are drawn with more than Chinese rhythm. Perhaps we stand upon some vantage point near Kamakura; upon wooded Inamura or the highest point of Shōjōken above Kenchōji. The medium of this finished

little work is the lightest *sumi*, touched here and there by a dully glowing wash of minute gold flakes."

Of the pictures in the Eighth Room which was once used by the Emperor Meiji, Mr. Pier writes: Here is "depicted a design dear to the Chinese artist of the Early Sung in which a gnarled and twisted pine hurls its consorted branches far out over a steep and rocky chasm. Into the unseen depths of this seemingly bottomless abyss, a roaring cataract hurls itself in one gigantic leap. As we watch the glistening ground shake beneath our feet, the cool moisture settles upon our cheeks." I confess I had something of the same sensation when I looked at the winter landscapes by Kano Eitoku in the Seventh Room. They came to me with a start of surprise, and I note with appreciation what Mr. Pier says of them. "Here by means of *sumi-ye* alone are depicted the atmospheric contrasts between the soft, white glow that hangs above a snow covered ground, and the broken dull gray of the exhausted snow clouds. And here too hints of wash-gold seem to bespeak the sun that shall soon entirely dissipate the broken clouds. Well might Tannyū, in this *genre* at least, model himself upon the work of his gifted grandfather, for the author of these charming *fusuma* might indeed be called 'a master of the snow-clad bearers of winter'."

Writing of pictures I must not forget one of Chion-in's great treasures, "The Descent of Amida and Bodhisattvas" by Eshin Sōzu. Mr. Pier has again written so beautifully of this great picture that I cannot refrain from quoting him. "Of the spirituality of Eshin's art, this Tosa-like landscape is a most representative example. To the right of the painting sits Eshin in an attitude of adoration. He gazes heavenward, where, upon a splendid fan-shaped cloud, Amida and his attendants reveal to him a vision of the 'Pure Land of the West.' His little pavilion is charmingly placed, being set upon the high slopes of Mt. Hiei. Here blossoming wild

cherries and tall cedars cling tenaciously to the slopes and a wild mountain stream tumbles headlong in many leaps and bounds to vanish in a mist. The landscape and minor details are painted in soft and tender pigments, a restraint which serves to throw into greater prominence the main theme of the picture. This glorious vision of the welcome, which Amida vouchsafes to the faithful, is a mass of cut gold-leaf. As an expression of the unbounded love and solicitude of the deity, such a theme and rendering could hardly fail to rivet the attention of the masses, with whom the Jōdō doctrine was more especially concerned. At sight of such a glorious vision, the most insensible must needs have been moved."

From the temple interiors, I wandered to the garden and to see the great bell. Chion-in's bell is famous; it is the second largest in Japan and one of the great bells of the world. It weighs seventy-four tons and measures nine feet in diameter and is over ten feet high. It does not ring often, but those who have heard it never forget its great rolling boom that deepens all over the city and dies away in waving whispers. Whenever I listen to it, I feel as if the whole spirit of Buddhism breathes through it. As long as this bell rings out its philosophy of life, Buddhism will never vanish from the soul of the Orient.

The bit of garden near the pond is very charming—big trees in the background; at their feet a tiny bridge, a great stone lantern, the pond in which the red carp swim and where I saw a large tortoise lazily basking, and about the banks of the little water, blooming bright azaleas and stately purple iris. Near the garden is the Revolving Library housed in a picturesque building surmounted by the flaming wish jewel, the *Chintamani*. I looked through the barred windows, thinking of all the sacred Sutras secured there, The *Saddharma-Pundarika* revered by all the Buddhist sects but especially by the Tendai and Nichiren teachers; the *Prajñā Pāramitā*

much read in the Zen temples, *Sukhāvatīvyūha* beloved by the Jōdo and Shin followers, and the *Avatamsaka* (*Kegon*) studied as the most profound philosophy.

Seated in the round enclosures were statues of Fu-Daishi (傅大士) and his sons, Fugen (普建) and Fujō (普成), the laughing Buddhas. Fu-Daishi was a Chinese priest and is said to have invented the Rinzo (輪藏) or Revolving Library. At each corner were great statues of the Shi-Tennō, the Four Heavenly Kings who guarded the four quarters of the earth. Of these four kings Bishamonten is the most popular. He is the guardian of the North quarter and as the patron of fortune in war was much revered in feudal days.

Standing near the library in earnest converse, I noticed two young Buddhist nuns. They were dressed in black, and while the Christian nuns always cover their heads these girls had their heads entirely shaven. Most of the nuns in Japan belong to the Jōdo sect and Chion-in has a school for them where three hundred attend. They can often be seen going about in the streets of Kyoto. Some of them are pretty, and all are young, for they come to Kyoto to get their education before going to live in their home temples. Besides Buddhism they study all the subjects taught in a regular girls' school. They look as if they were happy.

From the library, I turned to the left and climbed up the stone steps to the terraces to the Seishi-do (勢至堂), the oldest building in Chion-in, which survived the devastating fires which took away other buildings. It was here that Hōnen Shōnin died.

Here I came upon a funeral ceremony. Before the altar where offerings had been made to the departed spirits and where a priest was officiating, were kneeling the friends of the dead person. Each was beating on the sleigh-like wooden bell, so often used in Buddhist ceremonies and repeating over and over again "Namu Amida Butsu."

Still more steps up to the tomb of Enkwo Daishi (圓光大師), Hōnen Shōnin! In a previous number of this magazine much has been written of Hōnen Shōnin. It is he, as will be remembered, who was the founder of the Jōdo sect and the teacher of Shinran Shōnin. He lived 1133-1212. He believed that the way to Paradise, the Pure Land, lay in the *Nembutsu*, the constant repetition or holding in the mind of the sacred phrase, "Namu Amida Butsu." When he lay dying, he recited the holy words as usual, but his last utterance as he turned his face toward the West, was this: "The light of Amitābha illumines all sentient beings throughout the ten quarters of the world, and whoever calls upon this sacred name is protected and never forsaken by him."

From all that can be learned of Hōnen Shōnin, his seems to have been a simple and beautiful character. His influence upon others was great, for he was the teacher of the noble and the wise. He was benign and holy, a most striking and gracious personality in Buddhist history.

SEIREN (BLUE LOTUS)

## EDITORIAL

OWING to the pressure upon the time of the Editors they find it quite unpracticable to publish *The Eastern Buddhist* bi-monthly as they at first planned, and hereafter, beginning with the third volume, the magazine will be issued quarterly. The number of pages for each volume will be from three hundred to three hundred and fifty, and the price for a whole year will remain the same, which however raises the price of each single copy from one yen to one yen and fifty. For the last two years since the first number was out, we have had a constant struggle in various ways. But as we know the value and importance of this work, we will keep it up against heavy odds.

That this kind of work is very much needed is well-known, but as there are so many things to be done by Japanese Buddhists and as funds are not forthcoming so readily, we have to struggle on for some time yet. The one thing however we are not quite satisfied with in the old-school Buddhism is that its advocates are too busy to commemorate the past instead of planning for the future. If Buddhism is a dead thing, this may do very well. But we find it hard to reconcile ourselves with this conservative idea, we want to drive the Wheel of the Law forward, we want to proclaim the truths of Buddhism to the world at large. The world is on the other hand growing smaller every day owing to the various inventions which will annihilate the notion of distance in a very material way. These advantages ought not to be made use of by industrial and commercial people only, we must appreciate their spiritual significance by getting closer than ever in things not altogether material. For the fact that we can now get acquainted with one another much more readily than in

olden days has a far deeper meaning than merely physically transcending time and place.

The political and economic questions which are disturbing the whole world at present, cannot be successfully solved so long as religions are separated from one another just because one teaches Christ and another the Buddha. We must get into the basic ideas of each religious system which, as we comprehend them, do not differ so radically as to exclude their mutual understanding and kindly cooperation. Whatever misunderstandings we have between various religious teachings are due to not knowing one another well enough. We as Buddhists will do our part in making known to the world what we consider the essentials of its teaching, historically and philosophically. Hence the publication of *The Eastern Buddhist* as a partial fulfilment of our programme.

As soon as the Editors have more time to devote themselves to their work, the magazine will be issued again bi-monthly, even monthly, which was in fact our first plan. Though our ideals are far from being realised, perhaps we have to be contented with this quarterly magazine for a while as a hopeful sign for something better to come. The first number of the third volume which is due in July will be delayed owing to the new adjustment that is to be made now. After that we hope our affairs will be conducted more systematically.

The Buddhist Federation of Japan is reported to be contemplating the presentation of a petition to the Imperial Court to close up their hunting grounds. We wish all the Buddhists, and even Christians for that matter, would join in the petition and keep our Imperial Household away from this inhuman way of entertaining foreign visitors and diplomats. It is disgusting to think that we human beings have not yet advanced from the stage of cruel and cowardly barbarism. To corner such innocent and timid creatures as deer, foxes, hares,



ducks, etc., and to shoot or net them just for pleasure and for nothing else, is not at all human, nor is it ennobling. We moderns ought to be able to find something more refined for our pastime, diplomatic or otherwise.

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“The disciple, when he first engages in the practice of religious contemplation (*Dhyāna*) desiring to prepare his life in agreement with the Laws of all the Buddhas, must first arm himself with a firm resolve to save all creatures, vowing that he will himself seek to obtain the wisdom of the supreme Buddha. Firm as adamant in this resolve, pressing forward with all courage and determination, regardless of his own individual life, if he goes on perfecting himself in Religion, and in the end not turning back, then, afterwards, when sitting in devout meditation, keeping before his mind none but right reflections, he will clearly apprehend the true condition of all phenomenal existence, without any distinct recognition of that which is called excellent virtue or the contrary, disregarding the knowledge of all which depends on the exercise of the senses, perceiving that all things, in their nature imperfect, are mixed up with grief and vexation, that the three worlds are the result of birth and death, and that all things in the three worlds do but result from the mind, his experience will be that which is stated in the *Daśabhūmi Sūtra*: ‘The three worlds have no other originator but the “oneself” (mind), if a man knows that this “self” has no individual nature, then all phenomena will appear to him unreal; and thus his mind being without any polluting influence, there will be a clear end of all power possessed by Karma to reproduce in his case “life or death.” ’ ”



## NOTES

### THE LATE PROFESSOR T. W. RHYS DAVIDS

AT the ripe age of seventy-nine Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids passed away at Chipstead, Surrey, on December 27th, 1922. The last few years of his life had been greatly hampered by physical pain so that death came as a relief from suffering. Personally I received the news of his passing over with great grief, for I lose in him one of my best friends, a man for whom I had the highest admiration and respect; a man whose prominent trait of character was kindness, gentleness, and sympathy, who in a supreme extent was possessed of the *Mettā*, the Great Love towards all beings, which he was so fond of quoting as one of his chief ideals and standard of life with the well known passage from the *Itivuttaka*, which in his own translation runs: "Just as at the dawn of day, when the night is passing, the Morning Star shines out in radiance and glory,—just so all the means that can be used as helps toward doing Right avail not the sixteenth part of the Emancipation of the heart through Love".

So I remember him, although weak in body of late, yet strong in mind, great in thought, enthusiastic in his work, when we conversed in the cosy study at Chipstead, from which a wide view of the rustic country of Surrey could be obtained, and where one felt the presence and reality of the ideals of mankind so well, when we talked about the history of these ideals, the great philosophers who had preached these ideals (with whom one could not help associating him as well), and above all the one great Gotama, to the description of whose life and teaching he had devoted his own life and teaching. Surely the effect of such a man and friend cannot

pass away with his bodily frame, the touch of his soul will be felt not only in myself, but in countless others as well. Now he has found Nibbāna, may be, of which he was such an eloquent interpreter and which he has described so well in his versatile language, and to the discussion of which as an ideal of ultimate happiness and bliss, as the crown of the highest optimism, he would always revert in his talks with me. So I remember him as my *kalyana-mitta*, and I may say of him what Pingiya said of the Master (*Suttu Nipato*, v. 1142): "Passāmi nam manasū cakkhunā va rattin-divaṃ; appamatto namassanāno vivaseṃi rattiṃ, ten'eva maññāmi avipavāsaṃ."

His career as a scholar is a varied and multifold course of events, beginning after the finishing of his University studies with the Civil Service in India (Ceylon), where he was first led to acquire a first-hand knowledge of Pāli and to make the acquaintance of Buddhist Civilisation. An ardent desire to make the Buddhist Scriptures accessible to European scholars never left him, and after his return to Europe was the direct stimulus to the formation of the Pāli Text Society by him, the President of which he has remained for forty years, and the institution and working of which has been one of the greatest achievements of modern literary undertaking on a private basis, even excelling Max Müller's *Sacred Books of the East*. For this alone his name would be immortal, were it not also for many other facts. All his energies, his thoughts, his aspirations, were directed to the upkeep of the Society, the results of which he reaped in later years with deep satisfaction. More than one text he has critically and accurately edited himself among the publications of the Society. Inseparably coupled with his name, not less with reference to the P. T. S. than to all his achievements of later years is that of his distinguished wife, Caroline Augusta Rhys Davids. It is she who now fitly and deservedly takes his place.

The outcome of his studies in Ceylon was, besides smaller publications, the great classic of Numismatics, viz. the *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, (1877). The same year saw his first great historical work published, which has since then had over twenty editions: *Buddhism*. Here a successful attempt was made to separate truth and fiction which were so dangerously intimately blended in Spence Hardy's *Buddhism*, up to then the classic on Singhalese Buddhism. His acquaintance with R. C. Childers strengthened his interest in Pāli. In London, while officially active as a barrister he began his real studies of Pāli and historical Buddhism, as he often said to me, with his translation of the Introductory Book of the *Jātaka* tales (*Buddhism Birth Stories*, 1 vol., 1880), which laid the foundation of his exceedingly intimate familiarity with the whole of the *Jātaka* tradition. The congenial field of the Canon Law of Ancient Buddhism he tilled together with Hermann Oldenberg in the translation of the two first sections (Vaggas) of the Vinaya Pitaka (most of the second section is his translation) in three volumes (1881-1885) under the title of *Vinaya Texts*. The work, owing to the condition of the Pāli Text and the subject matter, is in need of many corrections, still it is full of valuable information and a document of sound textual criticism. Another, more advanced, translation is that of the *Milindapañha*, published in 1890 (in the *Sacred Books of the East*).

His religious-philosophical bent led him from the more intimate study of the Buddhist Scriptures on to a wider range of Comparative Study. Here deserve to be mentioned his *American Lectures on Buddhism* (1896), and many smaller contributions and essays. His appointment to the chair of Comparative Religion at Manchester University (1904, after having been Professor of Pāli at London University since 1882) was a consequence of this side of his activity.

The historian once more showed himself to advantage in

his *Buddhist India* (1903). In graphic and vivid strokes he here gives us a picture of India under the influence of Buddhist culture. The language of the book is clear and to the point; the material is sifted and sounded historically. Another little book which must be mentioned as founded on historical studies of his later and more mature years, and which he himself considered the best that he had ever written on the subject is his *Early Buddhism* (1914).

In 1912 he retired from public duties and soon after the outbreak of war moved to Chipstead (Surrey), where he lived a secluded, one might almost say, arahantic life. Here in Chipstead he brought to perfection (besides seeing the whole of the Canonical texts published in Pāli Text Society editions) especially two plans and ambitions of his life. The first one was the printing of the translation of the Dīgha Nikāya, or long collection, under the title of *Dialogues of the Buddha*. This was begun in 1899, and the third and last volume was published in 1921. Here too his faithful and intelligent wife has been a great help to him. We do not hesitate to say that the *Dialogues* are the most important product of his Genius and are especially valuable for the critical introductions to each section. Here the historian, the poet, and the philosopher were most happily combined.—As the years passed by, he grew more and more anxious about the other one of his life-plans, the publication of the Pāli Dictionary for which he himself had collected such an abundant mass of material during his long life and his extensive reading. The need of such a Dictionary, which should be based on the P. T. S. editions of the Sacred Texts and their commentaries, was most urgent and all Pāli scholars were since 1908 agreed on the realisation of such a plan. It is not the place here to enter into the history of the scheme; all former plans were frustrated by the War. In 1916 we discussed the scheme anew and decided that I should undertake the work with his

help and under his guidance. I owe him a great deal of instruction and advice and regret that during later years he could not give me as much of his help as I should have liked, his failing health more and more hindered him, just when the work was in its most important stage. He revised my work up to the article "Desana". It was a great pity that he was called off even before seeing half the work published. Still, with all that, the foundation and inspiring genius of the work are his own and I am grateful to him as his pupil as well as his colleague.

In his method of work he always emphasised the importance of facts in the interpretation of historical documents and their expression in language. The Dictionary should primarily be a statement of facts in historical order; the words were to be given in their history within the field of Pāli. The disadvantage of this scheme is often evident, as with this the independence of Pāli is unduly put forward and the sphere of meaning too restricted. Yet it is a sound principle and to be welcomed as checking the other extreme of abstraction and suffusion of meaning. Sound was also his opinion as to the close affinity between Vedic and Pāli and the high age of some Pāli idioms. True that he often placed too much credit on facts of narration which are indeed often purely allegorical representations of half-truths, as seen with the untrained eyes and minds of faithful believers of old, among whom we have to include even the enlightened commentators of the holy texts. Thus it came that Rhys Davids placed a certain discredit on etymologies, which he used to call fanciful play. But on the other hand, he was a scientifically trained mind, who always warned not to put Abhidhamma ideas and constructions into the simple word and teaching of the Suttanta-pitaka. Fact and history were always his coins and measures.

His life was favoured by ease and opportunity, by travels and all other helps of self-education; yet it was full of strug-

gle and it had its share of sorrow and illness. His genial nature, however, would never let the latter gain the upper hand and spoil his character; and so it came that he was contented and serene up to the last days of his age and passed away peacefully:

"All resolute, and with unshaken mind,  
He calmly triumphed o'er the pain of death.  
E'en as a bright flame dies away, so was  
The last emancipation of his heart."

(*Dialogues*, II. 176)

Dr W. Stede, Bremen

### THE SHINRAN CELEBRATION

During April, a great celebration lasting a week took place at the Higashi Hongwanji Temple in Kyoto. It celebrated the seven hundredth anniversary of the publication of the *Doctrine, Practice, Faith, and Attainment* (教行信證), which is the most important text-book of the Shin Sect of the Pure Land written by its founder, Shinran Shōnin. There were elaborate ceremonies, processions, lectures, and other observances. During the week huge crowds visited the temple. It is said that 550,000 persons attended the celebration and that 1,437 priests took part in the impressive ceremonies.

On the days on which the great ceremonies took place, there was a procession of priests and laymen of temple rank into the great room where the ceremony took place. This procession was most interesting. First came the laymen with temple rank, 1,523 of them. These laymen are divided into different groups according to their ranks. The lowest group in rank, the *shōryōin skaku* (商量員格), walked first, followed by the *jūn-shōryōin* (准商量員), then the *shōryōin* (商量員), then the *junkōto* (准講頭), then the *kōto* (講頭), and last of all and highest in rank, the *sō-kōto* (總講頭). These men wore a peculiar costume—the dress called *suho* (素袍) was of



a thin silk of light green or light blue, made in a way to stand stiffly out from the body, and on their heads they wore odd little stiff black hats of ancient style called *ebōshi*. They carried short wrist rosaries. They marched in, not two by two but one by one, and it seemed as if their number was endless. For the most part, these lowest Buddhist devotees were elderly men, but occasionally a younger man was seen among them. After the passing of the laymen came the priests. These also marched and were clad according to their ranks. Over broad trousers, somewhat in the Turkish style, called *sashinuki* (差貫) and adorned or not adorned with crests according to the rank of the wearer, they wore their robes, and over the robes the *kesa*, (*kāshāya* in Sanskrit), that Buddhist garment which is supposed to resemble the robe worn by the Buddha Shakyamuni. The robes varied in colour and were sometimes very brilliant, green, orange, white. There are thirteen degrees among these priests, and their robes varied as their ranks, the highest being a brownish orange and next a brilliant orange. Over the robes the brilliant *kesas* hung with a curtain-like effect in the front and back held by a sash over the left shoulder. These priests carried ceremonial fans and long rosaries with tassels; these rosaries were sometimes very beautiful, made of crystal, amber, coral or carved wood. After the long procession of priests had passed came a number of little boys attired like girls. These were the *chigo* (稚兒), the celestial children or angels, who were later to dance in praise of the Buddha. Some of them were dressed as butterflies and others as flowers, peonies, wistaria, and lotus. After they had passed came the Ōtani family, first the brothers of the Abbot called the *Renshi* (連枝), next walked the Abbot's son called *Shinmonzeki* (新門跡), and last of all the Abbot himself, the *Tōmonzeki* (當門跡). This closed the stately procession.

The scene of the ceremony was the great hall of the

temple. It was filled to overflowing with devoted adherents.

The altar was very beautiful. It was in the form of a golden shrine, which contains an image of Shinran Shōnin. On each side of the altar were enormous and gorgeously arranged bouquets of flowers, and also hanging lamps richly ornamented. Into the inner shrine came in solemn order certain high priests, followed by the Renshi in black and red robes, the Shinmonzeki in white, and the Tō-monzeki in red and white. All entered with slow and stately steps to the accompaniment of music played upon ancient instruments, in classic style. The Tō-monzeki seated himself upon the *daijo* or great seat, on one side of the altar, and the Shin-monzeki upon the other. The ceremony began by the singing or chanting by the priests of the *kada* (伽陀), a song in praise of Amida. At this ceremony as conducted on two days, the Abbot himself officiated, but on the middle day the Abbot's son, the Shin-monzeki, officiated and offered the incense and read the *Life of Shinran* before the shrine. Young, graceful, dignified, he moved through the solemn ceremony, looking like some young prince of a former era.

There was more chanting by the priests, the Amida Sutra without music, and then those at the altar, the Abbot, his son and brothers and the high priests took part in the *gyōdō* (行導) or "walking around the shrine" ceremony. All the participants held in their hands plates on which were many paper lotus leaves representing heavenly flowers, and at certain times during their procession around the shrine they tossed out the leaves before the altar. Then they returned to their places, the Abbot to his dais on the right and the Shin-monzeki on the left; the music began again, and the priests chanted the *Shōshinge* (正信偈), a hymn of praise to Amida and the Shin patriarchs, composed by Shinran Shōnin and greatly revered by every Shinshūist.

During the chanting, I gazed upward at the decorations.



of angels on the panels above the altar and at the tablet written by the Emperor Meiji in honour of Shinran. The word is "Kenshin" (見眞), "To See the Truth," meaning Shinran, Kenshin Daishi being the posthumous title given to Shinran Shōnin by the Meiji Emperor. To the devoted Shinshū adherent, Shinran did indeed see the Truth and this truth is summed up in the Nembutsu—*Namu Amida Butsu!* Glory and praise be to the Buddha Amida!

Out in the temple courtyard the butterfly children were dancing on a specially prepared stage an ancient dance in praise of the Buddha. I leaned over the balustrade watching their graceful posturings and gazing upon the throngs of people below—rich and poor, old and young, educated and ignorant, devotees of the Buddha. Yet sometimes in the West, they say that Buddhism is dying in Japan. I wish that those who say it might visit Hongwanji on a day like this. Would they repeat it, I wonder!

It was a wonderful week at the Higashi (Eastern) Hongwanji, repeated the following week on an equally grand and similar scale at the Nishi Hongwanji, and attended by enormous crowds, followers of the Western Branch of the Hongwanji Shinshū.

B. L. S.

Of our new contributors to the present number of *The Eastern Buddhist*, Mr Bruno Petzold is professor of the German language in the Daiichi Kōtō-Gakko, Tokyo. He has studied Buddhism, especially the Tendai philosophy of Dengyō Daishi, under Rev Daitō Shimadzi, who is a great authority on the subject in Japan at present. Mr Hōkei Idumi (or Idzumi) is professor of Sanskrit in Otani University, Kyoto, and translator of the *Saddharma-piṇḍarika* into Japanese.

## CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editors of *The Eastern Buddhist*.

Dear sirs:—

In reading your magazine Vol. I, number two, I was much interested to find that Prof. Murakami is of opinion that the *Awakening of Faith* is not by Āśvaghoṣa.

Sometime ago I came to the same conclusion for the following reasons:

The author of the *Awakening of Faith* frequently quotes or refers to Mahayana Sūtras. Hence he is not the founder of the system.

The acknowledged works of Āśvaghoṣa, viz. the *Buddhacarita* and the *Sūtralankāra* have nothing characteristic of the Mahayana doctrine. Further, the opening lines of the latter refer to the assembly of 薩婆室婆 which M. Sylvain Lévi identifies with Sarvastivādin.

Besides the work of Āśvaghoṣa there is also a work of Asaṅga entitled *Mahayana Sūtralankāra* as if to emphasise the distinction.

The second translator of the *Awakening of Faith* translated also the *Lankavatara Sūtra*, no doubt regarding both works as representing the same tendency of thought.

The simplest solution of the problem would be to say that the writer of the *Awakening of Faith* assumed the name of the great Āśvaghoṣa as a name of religion (法名).

I am,

Yours faithfully,

James W. Inglis.

---

To the Editors:

I noticed in the contents of your magazine (Vol. I, No. 4) a Zen poem with three translations, of which, to my opinion, yours is the most correct one, but, as you know, the poem is a "seven words" verse, I think the noun "Tien mu," appears at the end of the verse, is indicating the name of the poet's resident place, should not be included in the verse; and no doubt the word "drive" was written down just before the word "across" originally. I contribute herewith my translation

for the poem, it is less than polite as compared with yours or the other two, but, it seems to me, conveys the author's thoughts more correctly—to Dharma the poem is not a praise, on the contrary, it is sarcasm.

Yours truly,  
C. K. Leang.

TRANSLATION OF A ZEN POEM.

With merely "I know not" Dharma drumm'd his lips and teeth on.  
How can the Indian phrase stir China into confusion!  
If old Hsiao of Liang had under his skin enough blood,  
He sure should drive him out across the western Streaming-Sand.

To the Editors:

In reading over the article by Prof. Chizen Akanuma on "The Triple Body of the Buddha," I found a great illumination and a better understanding. It may be due in part to the clear English of his writing, for as it is so hard for us foreigners always to understand the full text of the Japanese scholars. I often wish a copy of your magazine could be put into the hands of those who want knowledge on these subjects but do not know just how to obtain it.

Wishing you continual success, I am,

Sincerely yours,  
E. P. Clark.

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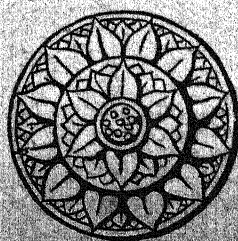
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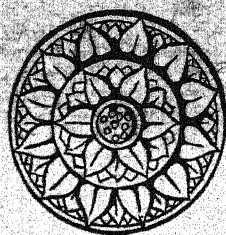
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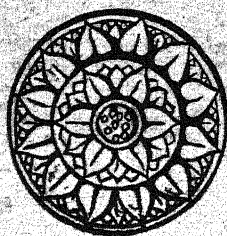
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